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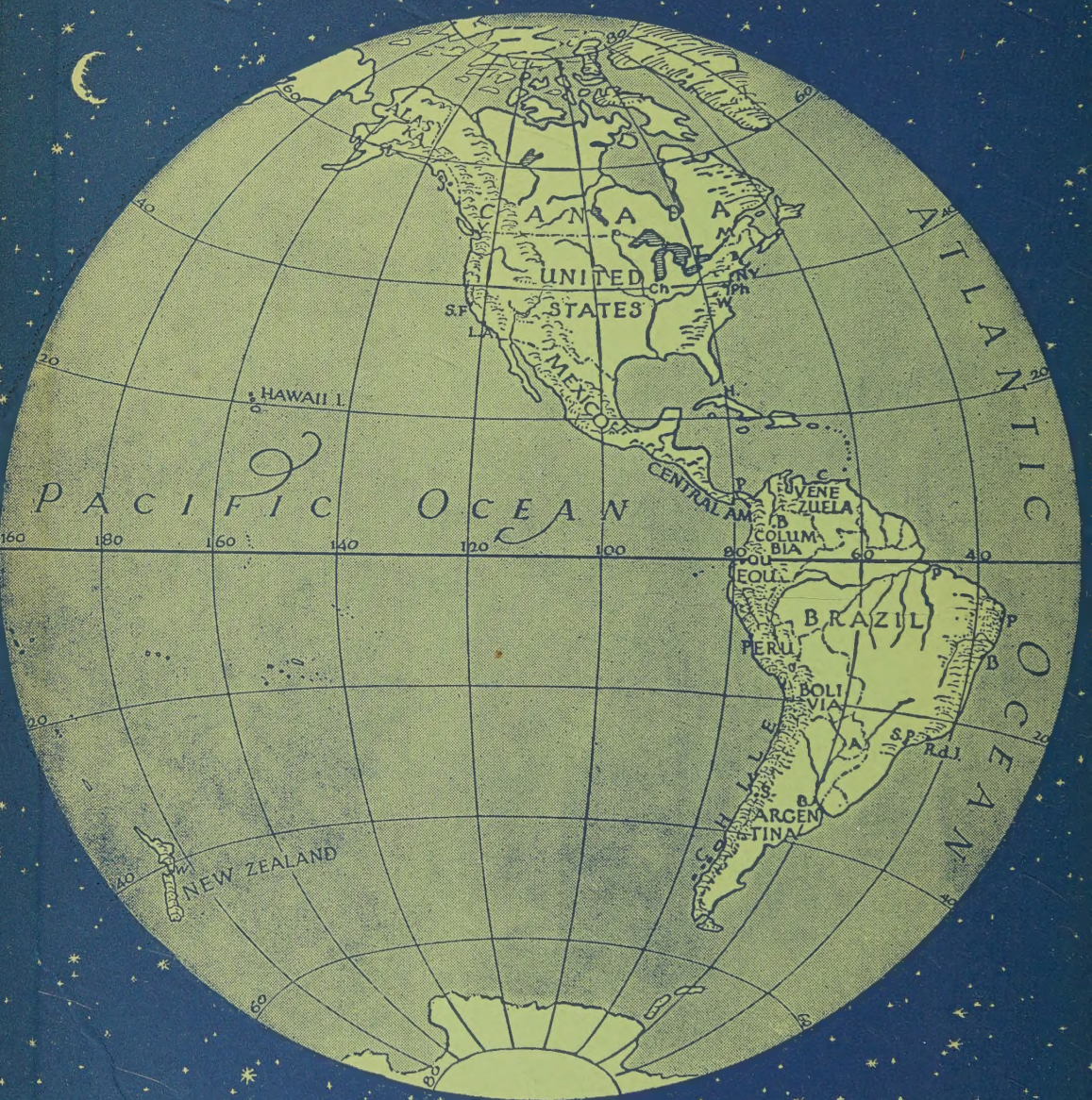

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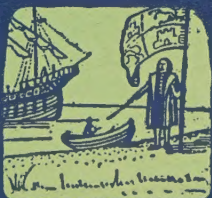

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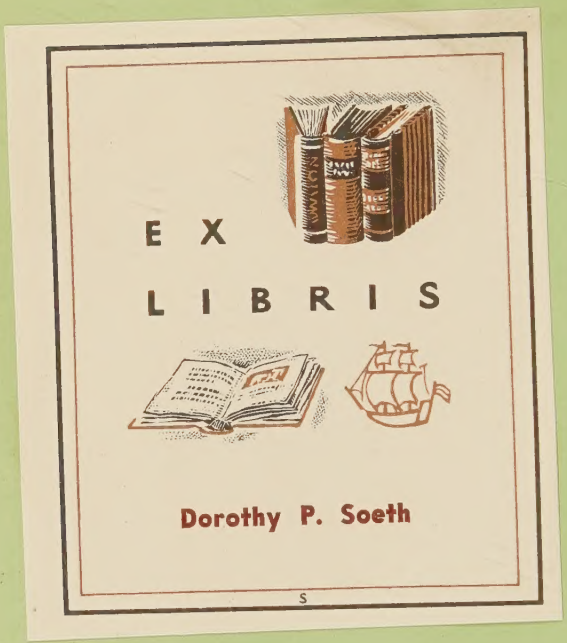
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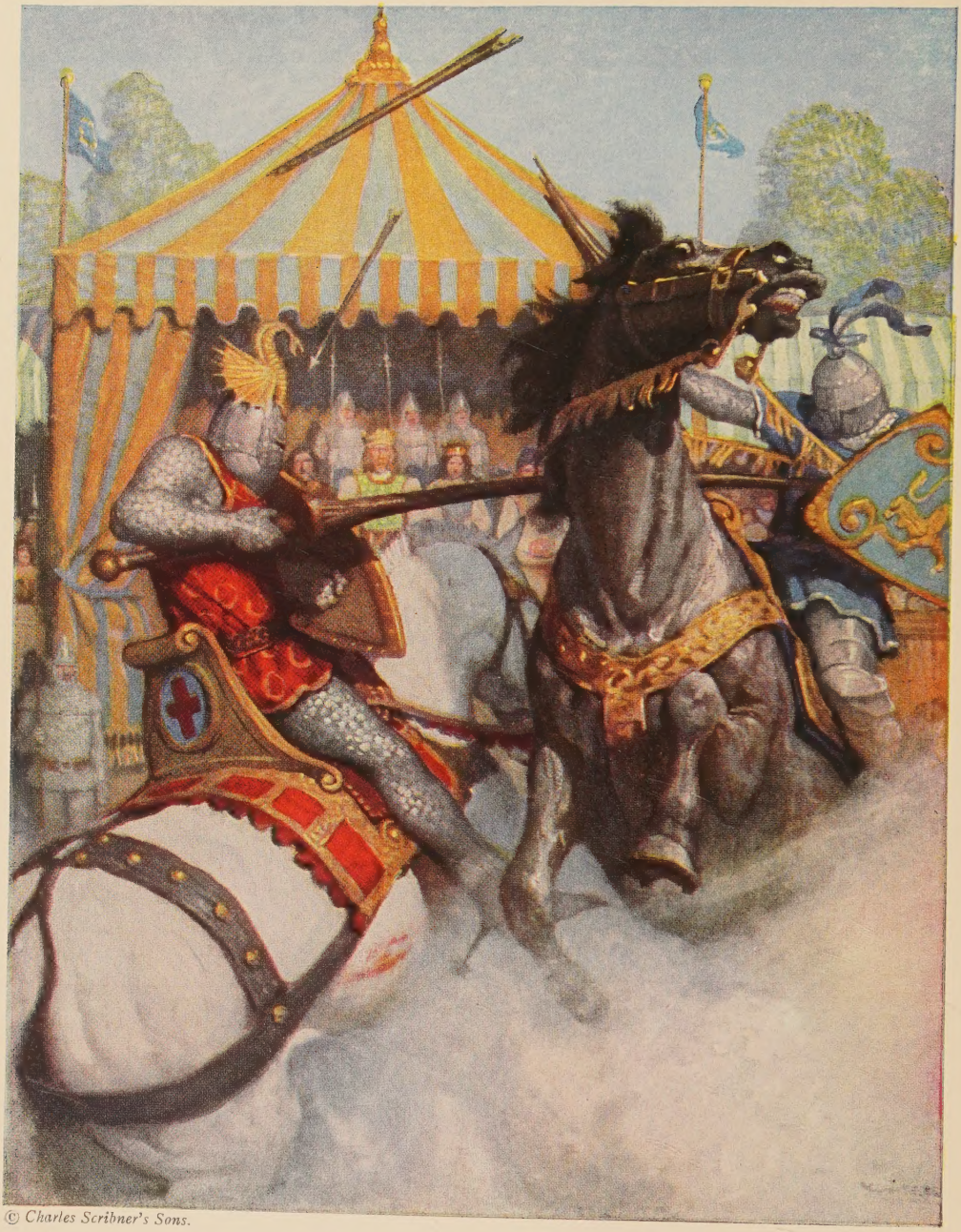

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A TOURNAMENT IN THE DAYS OF KING ARTHUR.

From a painting by N. C. Wyeth.

The Stream of History

By

Geoffrey Parsons

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The Stream of History

CHAPTER XV

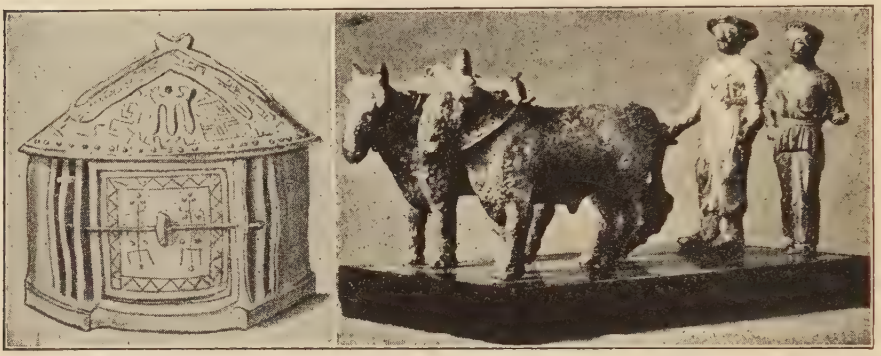
ROME

THE origins of Italy are not as clearly known as are the origins of Greece. Yet, in a general way, one can be sure that the racial elements were not unlike. There were dark whites, Mediterranean men, like the Cretans, upon the soil from early times. There were invaders from the north, undoubtedly a western branch of those migrating Indo-Europeans who swept down over Greece around 1500 B. C. There were also a mysterious people, the Etruscans, who probably came by sea from the eastern Mediterranean and concerning whose language and origin historians and anthropologists are still debating. In addition, large numbers of Greek invaders settled in Sicily and southern Italy, forming powerful colonies there; and hard by, in Africa, across a narrow strait, stood the most western of Semitic peoples, the seafaring Carthaginians, rivals, invaders, and ultimately victims of Rome.

The extraordinary fact is that a people so nearly related to the Greeks in racial strains and settled upon a parallel peninsula thrusting into the same sea should have developed such marked differences of character and culture. Some of the contributing causes can be pointed out. But the essential problem, of the origin of a national type, the peculiar genius of a people that has been more or less segregated from its

fellows, is as unsolved as is the origin of a Shakespeare or a Lincoln among individual men.

The most obvious difference, and possibly the most important, is that the Italian peninsula is farther west, and was thus in the earlier stages of sea communication cut off from



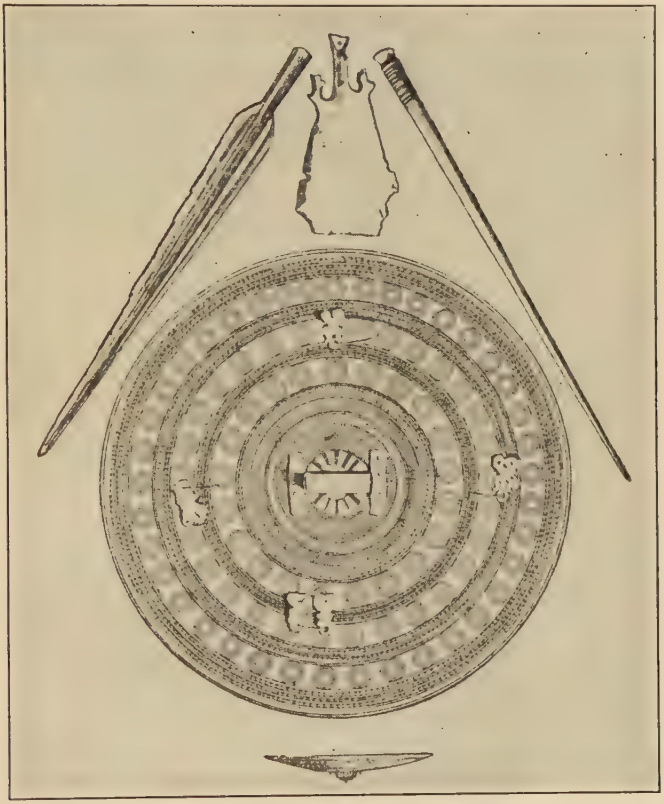
AN EARLY ETRUSCAN HOUSE, AND AN ETRUSCAN PEASANT PLOUGHING.

From models found at Præneste and Alba Longa.

contact with oriental civilization. Crete and Egypt were in close communication. Italy and Egypt probably were not. There are as well the facts that Italy possesses few good harbors and is the natural home of farmers who, unlike the Greeks, are not cut off from land travel by encircling hills. Thus the Italians were slow to take to the sea and lacked the early stimulus and adventure of contact with foreigners.

The late Stone Age is plainly recorded in the lake-dwellings of northern Italy. By 2000 B. C. the valley of the Po showed over a hundred of these settlements, similar to those on the lakes of Switzerland. The city of Venice, resting on

piles, is their modern descendant. The Indo-European tribes probably filtered south over the Alps from 2000 to 1500 B. C., now driving the native Mediterraneans before them,



BRONZE ARMS OF THE EARLY ETRUSCANS.

now mingling with them. Chief of these tribes were the Italic, and from them came the final name of the whole peninsula. They brought with them a branch of the Indo-European language, and Latin was formed much as was Greek, by the triumph of this new tongue over the native

speech. Not long after came the Etruscans, overseas, from nobody knows where, to settle in central Italy, north of the Tiber. Their language, written in Greek characters, has been preserved in inscriptions. Philologists have labored over it for generations without translating a single word. The

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

AN ETRUSCAN CHARIOT OF BRONZE.

Etruscans were more civilized than the Italic tribes of barbarians. Their bronzework was of the finest quality, and through their intercourse with the Greeks they learned to make paintings like the decorations on Greek vases. They used the arch in their buildings, and this they probably learned in the East, for the Greeks preferred the flat lintel. They were warlike and cruel, and for a time their cities

ruled all central Italy. It seemed as if the future of the peninsula lay in their hands. But the reserve power of the more primitive Italic people would not be denied. As in India, as in Persia, as in Greece, as wherever these northern horsemen and herdsmen faced the south, they and their language ultimately prevailed.

The battle between Etruria and Latium (the most powerful Italic tribe) centred about the border town of Rome on the southern bank of the Tiber, and for several centuries Etruscan kings ruled therein. Around 500 B. C. the Latins drove the Etruscan kings out of Rome and began the slow business of building up a Roman state.

Roughly speaking, Rome endured a thousand years from 500 B. C. to 500 A. D. For the first half it was a republic, and for the second half an empire. If one places the peak of its civilization in the reign of its first emperor, Augustus—unquestionably its most splendid period, as the phrase Augustan Age has come to signify—it falls exactly midway, around the year 1. The parallel with Greek chronology, 500 years earlier, is worth noting. The rise and fall of Hellas can be thought of as filling the last 1,000 years B. C. Its Golden Age of culture fell between 500 and 400 B. C., though its greatest material sway did not come till the rise of the empire under Alexander (336 to 323 B. C.).

The growth of Roman power was slow and precarious. In the early years Rome was merely the leader of the Latin league comprising the Italic tribes south of the Tiber. Of its

desperate struggles with the Etruscans, one can read in Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome." Luckily for Rome, the Etruscans suffered severely at the hands of two enemies. The Greeks of Syracuse in Sicily destroyed the Etruscan fleet; the Gauls poured down the Alpine passes from the north and

A TERRA-COTTA FRIEZE FROM THE ETRUSCAN TEMPLE AT CIVITA ALBA.

The goddess Athena is represented as protecting the Etruscans from Gallic invaders. She is killing one Gaul while two others flee in terror, leaving their booty behind them.

From the Museum of Bologna.

sacked their cities. On the other hand, there was resistance to Roman leadership by certain Italic tribes and the Greeks of southern Italy. Also the ever-marauding Gauls swept down to the Tiber and sacked the city. It was on this occasion that, according to tradition, sacred geese cackled in a temple, awakened the Roman garrison, and saved the citadel from capture. The Gauls were finally bought off with a bushel of gold and moved northward, settling in the valley of the Po.

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

MARS, THE ROMAN GOD OF WAR.

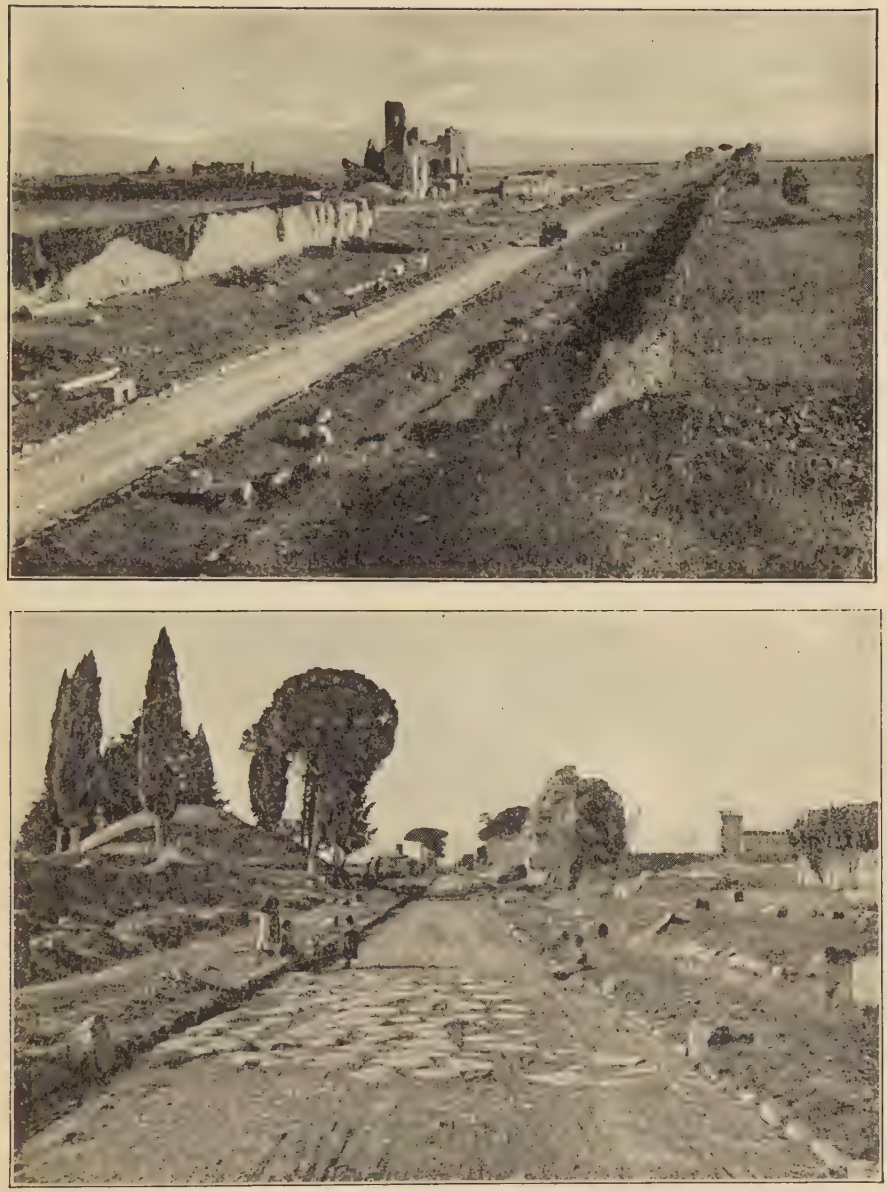
This statue, after the manner of Lysippus of Sidon, shows him at rest, while a child plays with his armor.

In spite of these obstacles, the little Roman town on the Tiber had by 275 B. C. become the master of all Italy. This was an extraordinary feat, and it was due to a new talent in the world that one can sum up as a gift for organization. Greece had a common language and a common tradition, a spiritual unity; it remained split into dozens of city-states and never achieved a governmental unity save such as was imposed by a despot from without. Italy had no common language or traditions. Three different peoples formed its population—the Italic tribes, the Greeks, the Etruscans. Yet so skilful were the Romans in ruling themselves and in ruling their conquests that they succeeded in forming from these diverse elements a single unified and stable state.

One can describe the governmental forms and trace the steps by which this was accomplished. But the idea must be avoided that any formula of government was responsible. The Greeks knew more of governmental theory than did the Romans, and could rule neither themselves nor others. The unique gift of the Romans was a knack of government, based upon a practical sense of what to do next rather than any fine theory of cause and effect. Right here is suggested the essential difference between the Greek and Roman mind. The Greeks were imaginative and speculative; they freed the human mind and laid the foundations of modern wisdom. The Romans were builders and doers, working out by rule of thumb those practical problems of society which cannot be solved by theory. Upon their foundations of government and

law most of the Western world has built its social structure. It is difficult to find a historian who does justice to both Greeks and Romans. They represent two diverse and fundamental types of human beings, and every one is tempted to admire and prefer his own sort. A fair view would recognize that one supplements the other, and that both Greeks and Romans made essential contributions to the civilization of the world—quite as poet and lawmaker, scholar and bridge-builder, are equally essential to-day.

The Roman republic was the name of the nation for the first 500 years. In modern usage a republic is a government in which the people rule through elected representatives, as in the United States. The executive heads of the Roman Government were elected, and to this extent there was a republic in the modern sense. But the idea of elected legislators never appealed to either Greeks or Romans. A republic can either be based on popular elections, in which case it is also a democracy (as to-day in the United States); or it can be based on the votes of the rich and the landowners (as was the case in most of the States of the Union in the early years); or it can be based on the votes of a small aristocracy of nobles. The Roman republic shifted between these various forms as went the struggle of the nobles, called patricians, against the people, called the plebs. The first elected heads of the state were two consuls elected from the patricians. The people revolted against this oppressive rule and secured the election of the "tribunes of the people." Later they won the right to

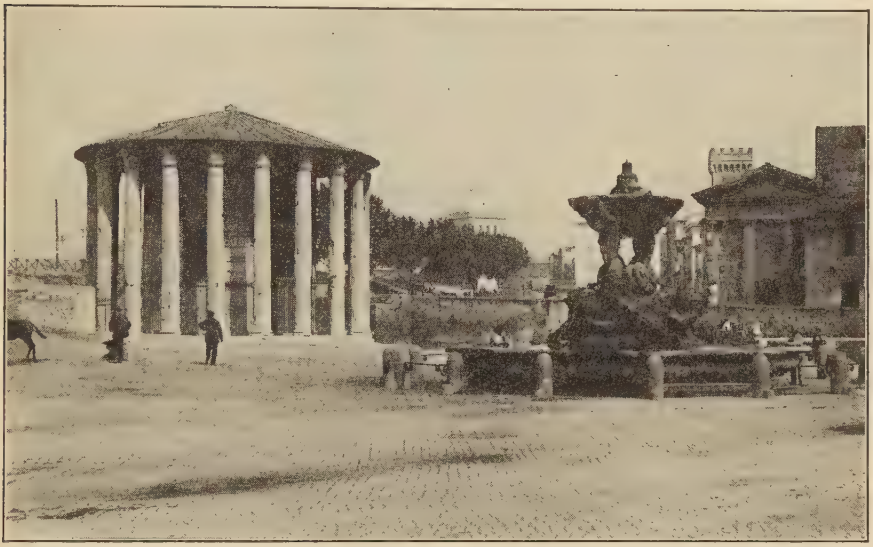


From photographs by Alinari.

THE APPIAN WAY, ONE OF THE EARLIEST EXAMPLES OF ROMAN PRACTICAL ACHIEVEMENT.

Built in 312 B. C. by Appius Claudius, the Appian Way remained one of the best means of communication in the world until the invention of railroads. It was made of flat slabs of stone smoothly fitted together on a foundation of cement and rough rock.

share in the lawmaking through a huge popular body like the Athenian assembly. The struggle paralleled the struggle in Athens between nobles and people, but the practical Roman mind worked out a far more effective system—and



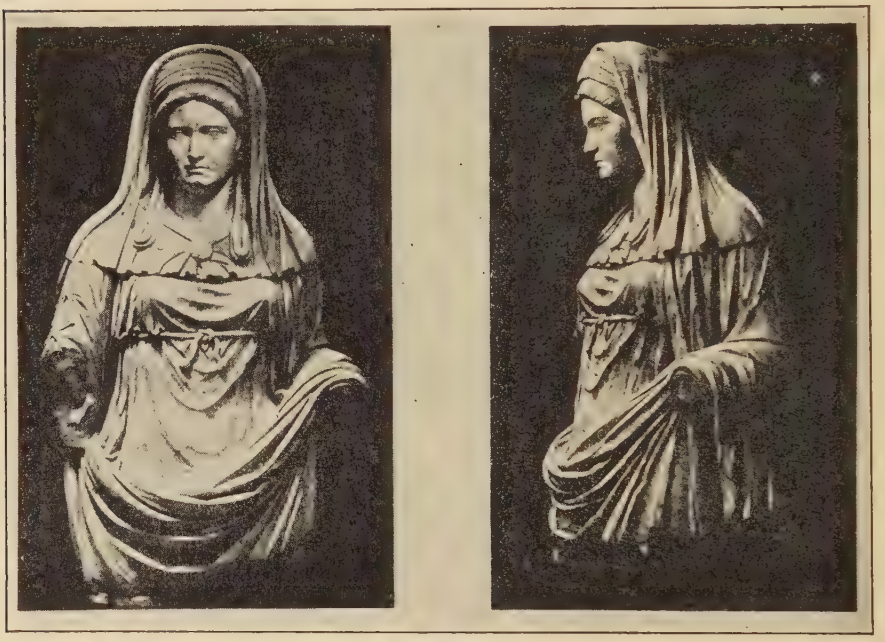
From a photograph © Ewing Galloway.

THE TEMPLE OF MATER MATUTA, THE ROMAN GODDESS OF THE DAWN, IN THE FORUM BOARIUM, ROME.

It is now the Church of Santa Maria del Sole.

when that became weak, developed yet another. As the Roman state grew, the assembly became more and more unwieldy, and gradually a smaller and more compact body forged to the front. This was the Senate, an ancient body originally composed of elderly patricians. One of the reforms gained by the plebs was to open the ranks of the Senate to plebeians who had held office. A respect for government and its officers lay deep in the Roman mind, and there gradu-

ally developed a new type of Senate composed chiefly of the able men who had served as consul, tribune, and in other important posts. Thus a new nobility, recruited from the able and successful men of the people, arose in Rome, and the



A VESTAL VIRGIN, ONE OF THE PRIESTESSES OF VESTA, WHO KEPT A FIRE PERPETUALLY BURNING ON HER ALTAR.

This flame was looked upon as the symbol of the Roman State. If it burned low, Rome was believed to be in danger.

From a statue in the Museo delle Terme.

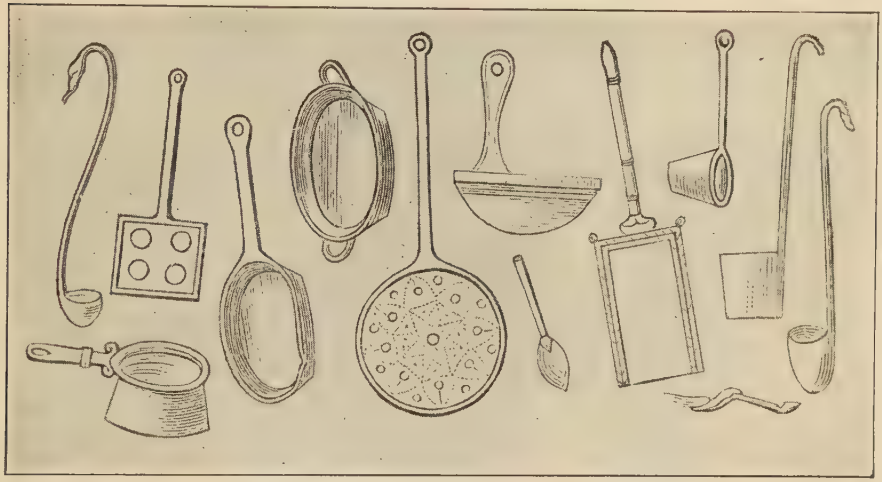
Senate became for a time an extraordinarily wise and competent body, probably as able as has ever ruled in any state, ancient or modern. All aristocracies probably originate in this fashion and most of them continue to be recruited from the ranks of the lower classes. The trouble is that they do not recruit fast enough to include the real leaders of the people,

From a photograph by Alinari.

CICERO DENOUNCING THE TRAITOR CATILINE BEFORE THE ROMAN SENATE.

From a painting by C. Maccari.

and they retain too much dead-wood, the degenerate descendants of great men. Thus their level of ability falls and their power with it. It speaks well for the political sense of the Roman people that when they had reformed the Senate they



ROMAN KITCHEN UTENSILS FOUND AT POMPEII.

permitted it to take supreme control of the government. Thus in the years of its greatest success the Roman republic was ruled by a newly recruited aristocracy.

For several centuries Rome ruled the peoples she conquered as ably as she ruled herself. Her treatment of them was generous and intelligent, adjusted to the needs in each case. Often citizenship of a kind was granted; always protection was accorded to the annexed territory. In addition, colonies of Roman farmers were sprinkled far and wide. Thus, despite the handicaps of different languages and peoples, the governmental genius of Rome slowly organized all

Italy in a single state, steadily growing in unity and never showing local divisions like the Greek city-states.

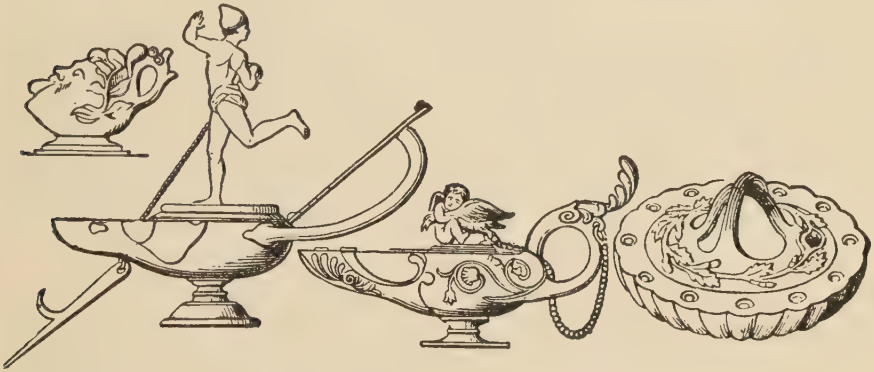
The downfall of the Roman republic followed its embarkment upon a policy of overseas conquest. The Senate succeeded in gaining world dominion as had Alexander. The

A STATE SACRIFICE AT ROME.
From a bas-relief in the Louvre.

reaction upon Rome was fatal to the old-fashioned state wherein the people had either ruled or acquiesced in the rule of the ablest. The period of republican conquest marched from 264 B. C. to 146 B. C., and in that time the entire Mediterranean world and the bulk of the great Alexandrian Empire surrendered to the armies of the Roman Senate. Thereafter ensued a century of revolution, during which one popular dictator succeeded another, and the republic became but an empty name, and only the advent of a strong imperial

rule under Augustus in 30 B. C. saved the Roman state from disintegration and restored peace.

The years of conquest could be passed over lightly were it not for the fact that in them Rome conquered and destroyed Carthage, thereby ending the most brilliant west-



ROMAN LAMPS FOUND AT POMPEII.

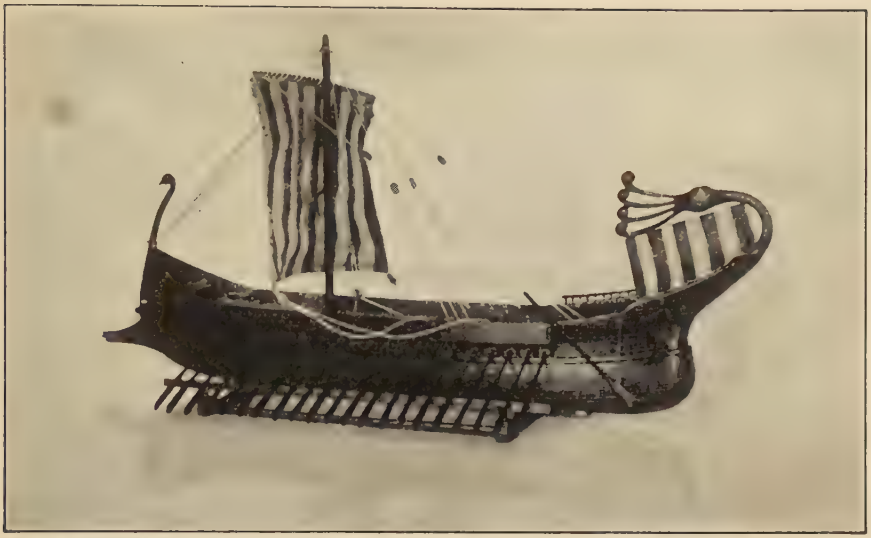
ward thrust of a Semitic people that the world had yet seen. In a military sense the issue hung in the balance for years, and it is interesting to speculate upon the consequences had a Semitic people conquered Italy and thus brought the civilization of the East into the heart of Europe. As it was, the break was complete, and a Semitic people did not penetrate Europe again till the invasion of Spain by the Arabs a thousand years later. There again the West finally prevailed, but not till Eastern civilization had made a lasting contribution to Europe.*

*It is the theory of most modern anthropologists that the Semitic peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean are all to be classified racially with "Mediterranean man." That is to say, they are "dark whites." Culturally, however, the Semitic peoples of historic times have been much more closely akin to East than West.

So complete was the final obliteration of Carthage that it is difficult to reconstruct her civilization. There are no Carthaginian histories. The ruins of the city yield but broken fragments. It is clear that the city was far more magnificent than Rome of this period, her people far more civilized. Her high oriental culture was probably outstripped only by Greece.

Seamen and merchants, like their ancestors, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians sailed far and wide. They planted colonies in western Sicily and in Spain. They even took control of the Straits of Gibraltar and closed them to all other shipping. By the third century B. C. the Romans were also pushing out to sea as sailors and traders. The business rivalry with the Carthaginians was keen and growing. There was in addition the threat of encirclement by the Carthaginian colonies. Altogether a clash between the two peoples was perhaps inevitable. What it is impossible to excuse in the Romans was the cold-bloodedness with which they attacked a friendly state and the cruelty and ruthlessness with which they completed their task, quitting only when Carthage lay levelled to the earth and a plough was driven across her site.

There were three wars between the two countries—the Punic Wars the Romans called them, which was to say Phœnician Wars. In the first war (264–241 B. C.) the Romans encompassed the feat of creating a navy in a year, building 120 ships, all with five banks of rowers, the latest type of battleship, and training the crews to fight them. They also



Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum.

Courtesy of the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture Corporation.

(*Above*) A CARTHAGINIAN GALLEY.

(*Below*) A ROMAN GALLEY.

invented a new boarding-device, a long gangway, and, aided thereby, won a great victory over the expert Carthaginian fleet. After years of victories and defeats the Romans gained sufficient advantage to force a peace that gave her Sicily and a large indemnity. More important, Rome had become a sea power, though at terrific cost.

The Second Punic War (219–201 B. C.) centred about the Carthaginian general Hannibal, who invaded Italy and then conducted one of the most brilliant campaigns in military history. He approached from Spain through France, with horsemen and elephants of war, made his way across the Alps, and in a strange land, vastly outnumbered, by sheer military genius won victory after victory. For fifteen years he raided Italy, laying waste her fairest provinces. He was cut off from his base of supplies. His only recruits were Gauls and other enemies of Rome whom he could persuade to his standard. Yet he never lost a battle in the open. It was during these years that a Roman general, Fabius, won immortality by adopting the deliberate policy of running away from battle and thus delaying the issue to weaken the enemy. "Fabian tactics" such a policy is still called to-day. Hannibal was never beaten in Italy. He was forced to retire by the victories of a Roman force in Africa led by Scipio Africanus the Elder. There the final battle was fought, and after a terrific struggle Hannibal's forces were disastrously defeated. Hannibal barely escaped with his life, to become a hunted wanderer in the East. Carthage was crushed by the peace.

She agreed to disperse her war-elephants and her battle-fleets, to make war only by leave of Rome and to pay an annual tribute. Despite the marvellous military leadership of Hannibal this greatest of western states had in sixty years been humbled in the dust by Rome.

The facts are a significant comment on the strength and weakness of Rome. She never developed military leadership of the first rank. Her strategy seldom displayed imagination. She won through the solid fighting ability of the common soldiers, their effective battle organization and the dogged resolution of the Roman people in the face of disaster. The period of the war with Hannibal was, so far as Roman leadership was concerned, a perfect example of "muddling through," to borrow an expression that the modern English apply to their own leaders.

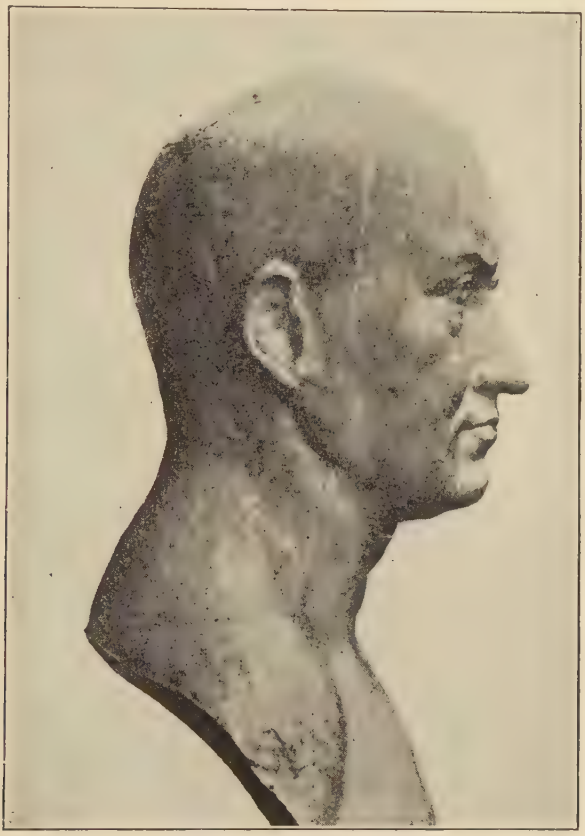
The fifty-five years from the end of the Second Punic War to the end of the Third were crowded with conquest. Having ended Carthage as a rival, the Senate turned its armies eastward to punish Macedonia, which had sided with Hannibal. Victorious there, Roman armies were before long marching in Asia Minor and conquering the heart of the Seleucid Empire. Presently Egypt acknowledged herself a vassal of Rome without resistance. At first in this conquest of the three Hellenistic empires, heirs of Alexander, the Romans freed the Greek cities which they entered, and their policy was one of leadership rather than annexation. But the rivalries of the East made such generous treatment imprac-

From a photograph by Alinari.

HANNIBAL.

From a bust discovered at Capua, now in the Naples Museum.

ticable; it became necessary to reduce Macedonia to a Roman province; and gradually the Senate organized the whole East



SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

in provinces, each under the absolute rule of a Roman governor.

In the last brutal war upon Carthage the Roman Senate displayed every ignoble trait. To be sure, the Carthaginian traders had shown surprising success against the Roman merchants even after the disastrous defeat of Hannibal. But

there was no sufficient excuse for the cold-blooded Roman decision to exterminate the beautiful city of Carthage and compel its people, sailors and merchants, to live nine miles from the coast. In the final siege Carthage made a desperate

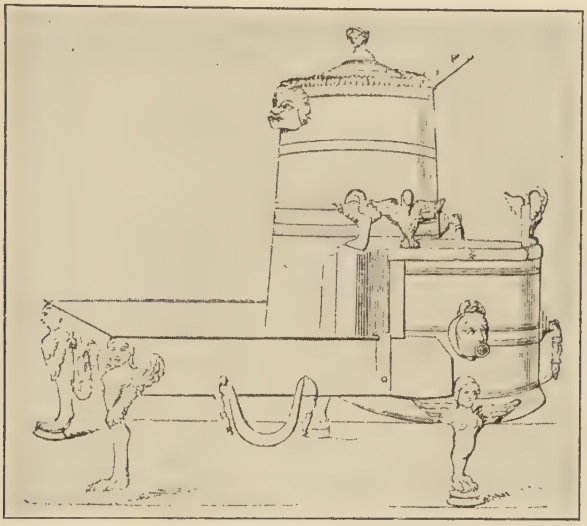
From a photograph.

THE RUINS OF CARTHAGE, UNEARTHED DURING RECENT EXCAVATIONS.

resistance; her women cut off their hair to furnish bow-strings for their soldiers; the slaughter was terrible; and Rome, as usual, conquered. The whole city was levelled to the ground and the population dispersed. In the same spirit of destructive brutality, Roman armies in the same year (146 B. C.) sacked and burned the famous Greek city of

REGULUS, THE ROMAN CONSUL, EMBARKS FOR CARTHAGE AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.
Captured by the Carthaginians and sent as a hostage to propose peace to Rome, Regulus advised his countrymen against it, and then returned to Carthage where he was put to death.

Corinth. One of the finest libraries of the ancient world was there destroyed, an act of vandalism far surpassing any deeds of the barbarian Vandals who, 600 years later, were to cap-



AN ELABORATELY ORNAMENTED BRAZIER FOUND AT POMPEII.

ture Rome and give their name to such wreckers of civilization.

In three generations, from grandfather to grandson, Rome had grown from a small state, the ruler of a peninsula, to the mistress of the world. Her citizens, some 300,000 of rude, embattled farmers and a few sailors and traders, had become the richest people the world had yet seen. Americans are familiar enough with sudden gains, as in the period following the discovery of gold in California. Their whole history has been one of rapidly increasing wealth, the first-fruits of an immensely rich and virgin continent. These

crowded years of Rome saw an inrush of prosperity beyond anything her citizens had known. The wealth and treasures of the oldest countries of the world poured into Rome as the spoils of war, as tribute, as the "graft" of colonial rulers,

THE GREEK TEMPLE OF POSEIDON AT PÆSTUM, ITALY.

and as the profits of Roman traders. The city was transformed. Now for the first time the art and culture of Greece were recognized and appreciated. They had stood for centuries at the door of Rome in southern Italy; Magna Græcia, or Great Greece, the region was called because of its size and importance.* The beauty and luxury of these cities, all their

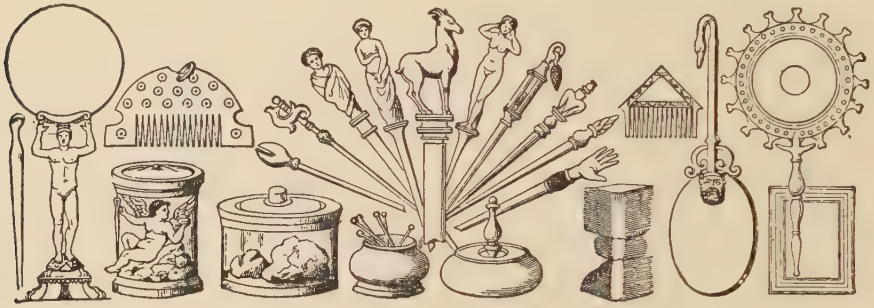
*At Pæstum, to the south of Naples, still stands a temple of Poseidon (the Greek Neptune), built around 500 B. C., and one of the noblest Hellenistic monuments that have been preserved.

high civilization, had been despised by the earlier Romans, proud of their plain living and the simple virtues. These they had enforced by public officials, called censors, who had the right to enter any man's home and punish extravagance

THE COURT AND PERISTYLE OF THE HOUSE OF VETTIUS IN POMPEII.

or immorality. The period of the blue-laws in New England offers a faint modern parallel to this strict regulation of Roman morals. All this was changed. Every returned conqueror or governor put up a new and larger house on the Greek plan. Ship-loads of Greek statues, of marble and bronze, were brought back from the East to decorate the houses of these new rich. Comforts like running water and

baths quickly followed. At Pompeii was unearthed a whole mosaic floor imported from a Greek house in Alexandria, the Paris of that age. Absurd extravagances appeared. A jar of salt fish from the Black Sea cost seventy-five dollars, and the fact led old Cato, who was sure that this new Rome was

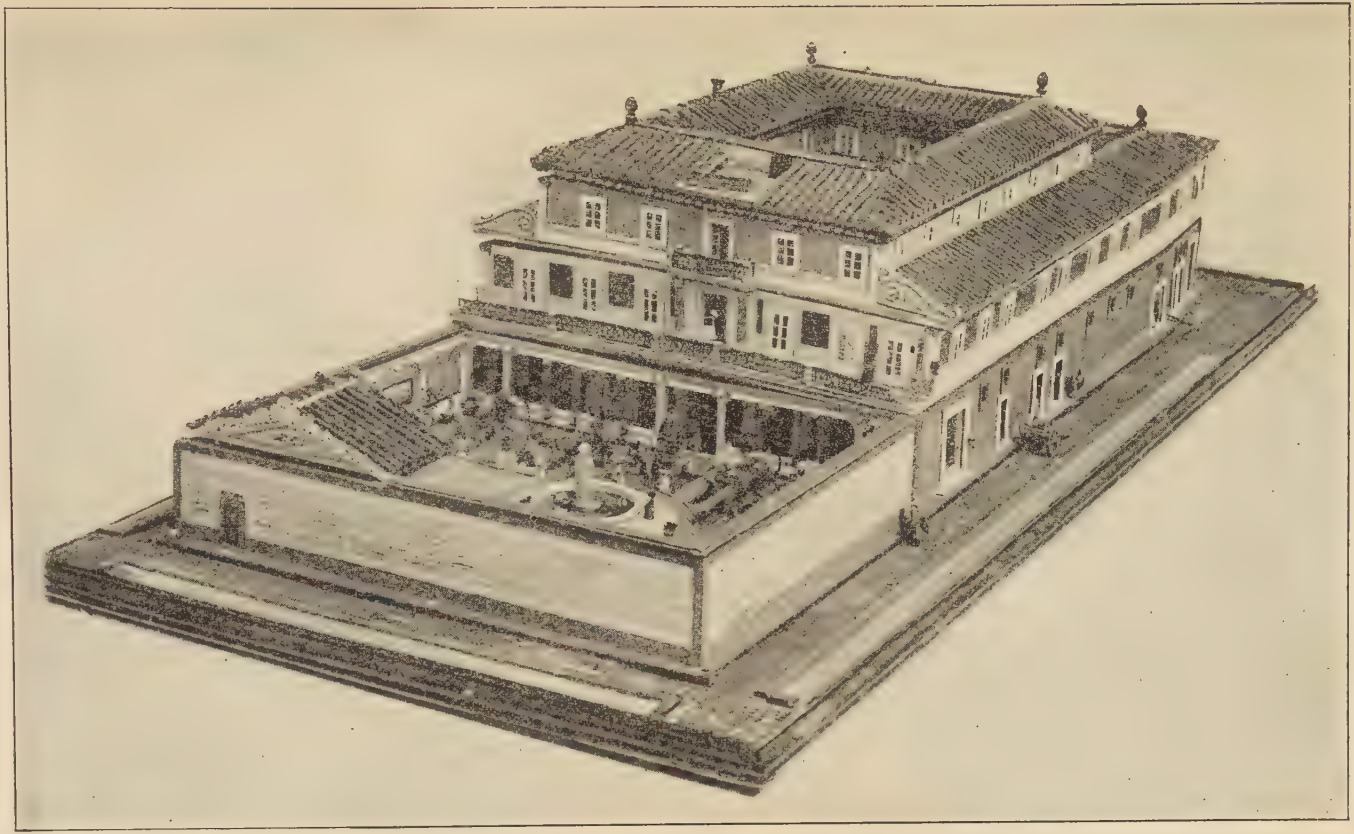


TOILET ARTICLES FOUND AT POMPEII.

headed for destruction, to protest in the Senate, declaring that Rome was the only city in the world where a jar of fish cost more than a yoke of oxen.

A taste for Greek literature naturally followed the arrival of Greek art. There was no early Roman literature. It is a striking indication of the practical, unimaginative nature of the Roman character that her heroic fighting years produced neither an "Iliad" nor even a battle-song. Language was for the writing of laws, and that was all. Now Greek learning became the fashion in Rome, and the first good schools for the boys of Rome were organized under Greek teachers.

Sudden riches are always demoralizing. They were particularly demoralizing in certain of the forms in which they reached Rome. For one thing, the enormous wealth rolling



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

A ROMAN VILLA BUILT AT POMPEII IN 79 A. D.

From a reconstruction.

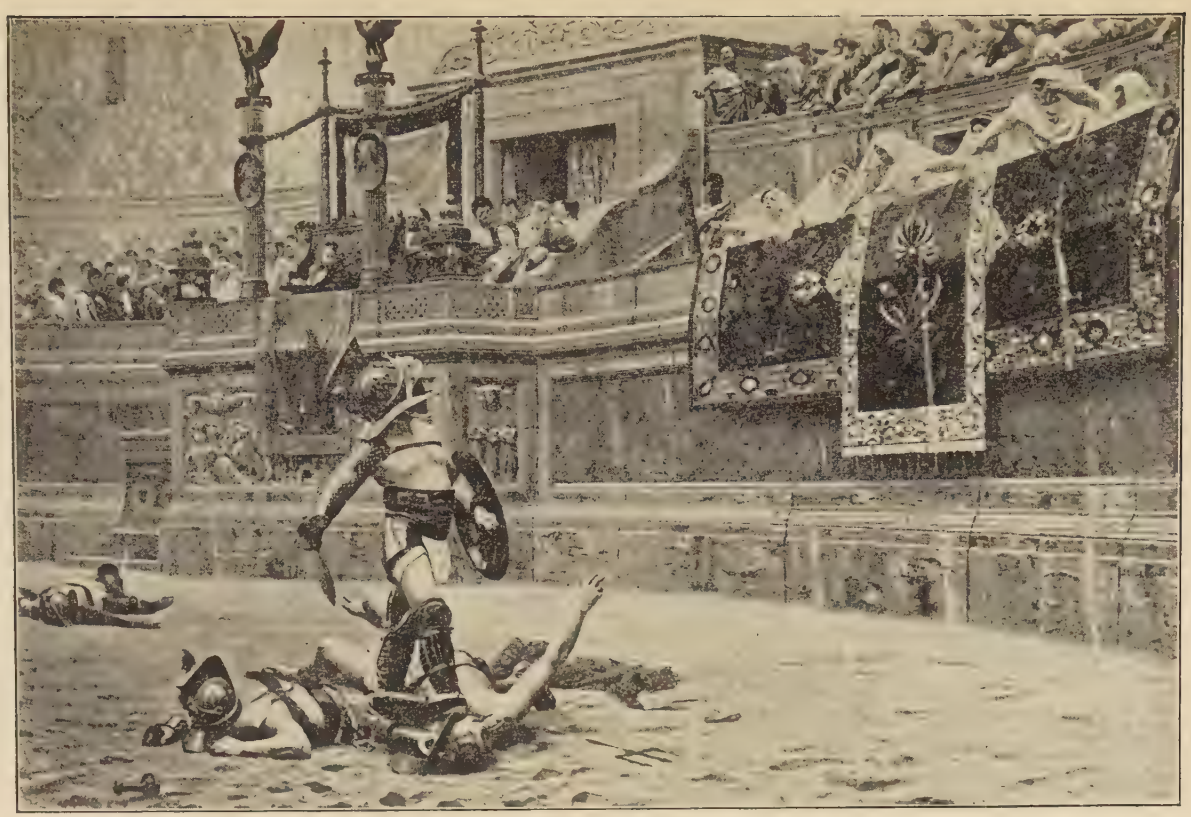
in upon the state from the eastern provinces made taxes unnecessary. One of the primary obligations of citizenship thus ended. For another, more and more slaves, alien captives, were brought to Rome, and the old sturdy self-reliance of the Roman citizen diminished. Independent farmers disappeared, and plantations tilled by slaves took their place. Slaves were an accepted fact in the ancient world, as the case of Greece made clear. But there were many kinds of slavery. It was particularly cruel and terrible in Rome. Desperate revolts of these slaves, many of them Eastern captives more civilized than their owners, became a standing peril to the state. Beginning in this period, slavery became a huge and demoralizing force in Roman life. For a third form, this era brought gladiatorial contests to Rome. They were a revival of an old Etruscan custom, and it is an interesting speculation that much of the vein of cruelty in Roman life was of Etruscan origin. At any rate, bloody and barbarous spectacles resulted and became more and more popular. Slaves and condemned criminals were made to fight each other. As a further tidbit for the populace, some one had the idea of making these victims fight wild beasts. Professional gladiators appeared on the scene, and this sport of killing human beings became the great popular amusement of Rome. Before such scenes it is not difficult to imagine the frame of mind that murdered Carthage and Corinth.

All this makes a gloomy picture. Nowhere has it been painted blacker than in the Roman moralists of the time.

Old Cato (234–149 B. C.) was typical of the older Roman point of view that regarded the new luxury and Greek learn-

A ROMAN SLAVE SHARPENING A KNIFE.
From a statue in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

ing as vicious and damnable. As a result, many modern historians speak of this period as one of Roman degeneracy. It



THUMBS DOWN.

In the gladiatorial contests, when one combatant had overcome another, he appealed to the spectators for a verdict of life or death. A popular belief, which the artist has expressed here, was that in turning their thumbs down, the audience called for death.

From the painting by J. L. Gérôme.

was certainly one of demoralization. But considering that Rome thereafter pulled herself together and ruled the world for 500 years, degeneracy seems a strong word to apply. Perhaps an accurate summary would state that barbaric Rome conquered the world and civilization so swiftly that she lost command of herself—like many other nations and individuals. The old simple virtues of ancient Rome were weakened by civilization, but enough of them remained to hold together a vast empire through many centuries. As for the old simple vices of Rome—cruelty, for instance—they, too, carried over. Rome was Rome before civilization, and remained Rome after.

For many reasons the republic was doomed. Historians may disagree as to what was the fundamental cause. The failure of the Senate to cope with the difficult problems of the new empire was one immediate cause. The Senate had ceased to contain the ablest and most experienced men of the nation. Like all aristocratic bodies, it had slowly degenerated into an ultraconservative chamber of mediocre ability, bent chiefly on perpetuating its own powers and the rights of the rich and the nobility whom it represented. The struggle of the next hundred years lay between these classes and the new poor of Rome—chiefly farmers who had lost their lands in the wars and who now formed a starving and embittered populace of the capital. Nominally the plebs still ruled the state through their assemblies. But the Senate had long since made the republic an aristocracy in fact.

There arose during this turbulent century of revolution a series of popular heroes: the Gracchi, Marius, and finally Pompey, Cæsar, and Antony. These were tense and stirring years. Great principles clashed as the republic tottered to its end, and they had great protagonists. No other period of ancient history and few of mediæval or modern are so familiar to modern readers. Few have been as filled with color, swift action, sudden tragedy, and all that is meant by the word theatrical. No wonder Shakespeare turned to Cæsar and to Antony and Cleopatra for the raw stuff of plays. It was essentially an age of transition, when currents are confused and the forces of change are stronger than the strongest man. Failure and death were the common lot of the wisest leaders. The whole period was one of destruction, and the only lasting effect upon Europe, the conquest of Gaul, was largely accidental. The century has no importance comparable with the great ages that have produced great art, great inventions, or great institutions. It has interest simply for the great figures in it. In this sketch of peoples, causes, ideas, and institutions, but brief heed can be paid to such an age.

Tiberius Gracchus (163–133 B. C.) was a pure-minded patriot who, though a noble, was so impressed by the people's wrongs that he made himself their political leader and sought to secure them land. His laws were moderate, just, and wise. Before he could put them into effect, he was slain by a mob of senators. A younger brother, Gaius (153–121 B. C.), the second of the Gracchi, met a similar fate.

A BANQUET AT THE TIME OF ROME'S DECADENCE.

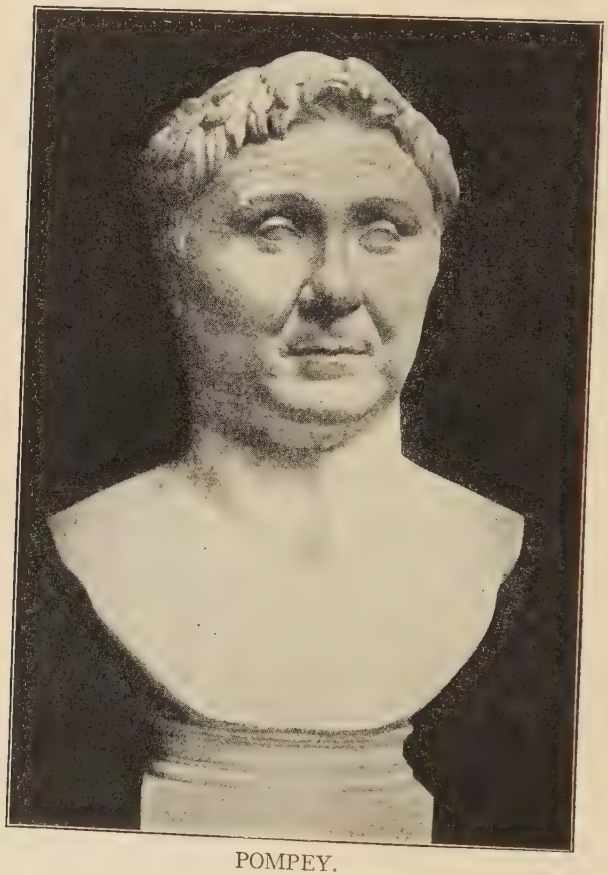
From a painting by Thomas Couture in the Louvre.

The fickleness of the Roman populace and its readiness to listen to demagogues made it difficult for reforms to come through elections. In Marius they turned to a rough peasant

THE GRACCHI.
From the bust in the Louvre.

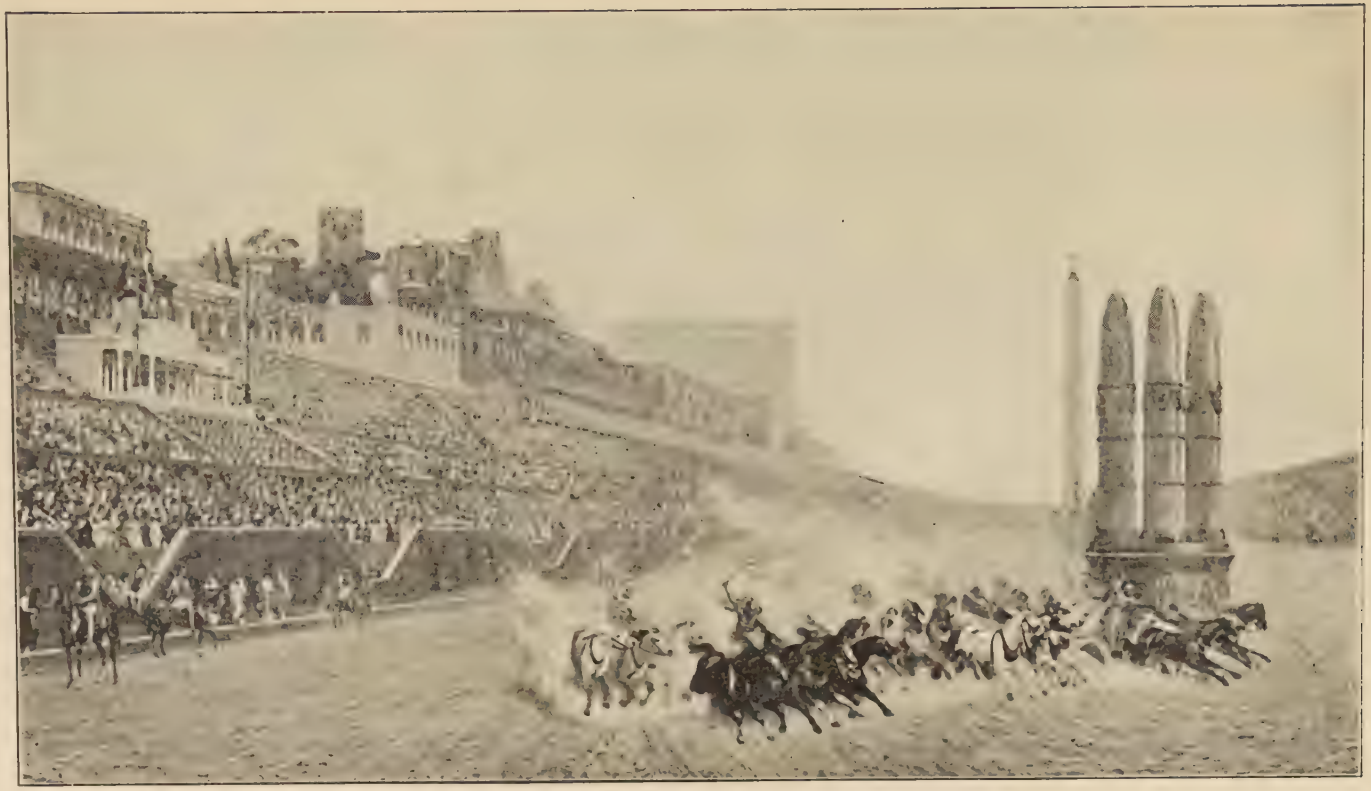
soldier and intrusted the fortunes of the republic to him as a military leader, with many of the powers of a dictator. The drift of events tended constantly to undermine the rule of the people. Reaction brought in the senatorial party after Marius. There followed Pompey (106–48 B. C.), another

general of the people, who turned eastward and took Roman legions to the Caspian and the Euphrates, making Syria a Roman province and crushing the last remnants of the Se-



POMPEY.

leucid Empire. He returned to Rome a popular idol, and the city was thrilled once more by the splendor of the ancient East, now its subject and slave. There was renewed within the Roman state that conflict of East and West which began



A CHARIOT-RACE IN THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS, ROME.

From a painting by J. L. Gérôme.

at Salamis and which was not to end till the Roman Empire was split in half and the two great civilizations of the world, basically different in race and culture and character and

CÆSAR'S TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO ROME.
From an antique bas-relief.

united in part and for periods only by the chains of conquest, resumed their separate paths for the rest of history.

There was rising to power in Rome while Pompey was fighting in the East the greatest of all Rome's popular leaders and one of the strong men of all time—Julius Cæsar (102–44 B. C.). He has been both overpraised and underrated. He was not a great statesman who saw far into the future and labored unselfishly to reconstruct the government of Rome upon a secure basis. The times fought against such

From a photograph by Alinari.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

From the statue in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome.

wisdom. He was a politician and, where necessary, a demagogue—no leader could live or succeed in Rome without catering to the whims and fancies of the Roman populace.

He did perceive the fundamental truth that popular rule equally with senatorial rule had failed, and that the rule of a few strong men or of one strong man must be substituted for it.

He began with an informal triumvirate—a secret rule of three men—forming a private alliance with the newly returned Pompey. As consul he passed land laws for the people. He still lacked that glamour of popularity which Pompey as a great conqueror possessed. Also he lacked an army, without which no leader, however strong, could hope to subdue the turbulent factions of Rome. To these personal needs was chiefly due that conquest of Gaul by Cæsar which is still the best-known and most studied episode in Roman history. Pompey had gone east and found glory; Cæsar had the imagination to see that a great opportunity lay west of the Rhône under the setting sun. The thrall of the East, its luxury, its beauty, its older culture, was to grip Cæsar, almost to his undoing, later in his life. It was accident and personal necessity that sent him westward, not preference or an appreciation of consequences. The irony of much human history lies in the fact that thus fighting in behalf of his own ambitions Cæsar made his one lasting impression upon the course of European history. He opened the westward door that made possible the development of that Western civilization which is modern Europe and the Americas.

Cæsar's conquest of Gaul took from 58 to 50 B. C. Those who read his own story of it in "De Bello Gallico" carry

away an impression of machine-like efficiency mowing down one barbarian enemy after another. The efficiency was there; Cæsar's keen military mind saw from the start that organization of supplies and transport was his great superiority,

A ROMAN GENERAL ADDRESSING HIS TROOPS BEFORE LEADING THEM INTO BATTLE.

and, relying upon it, moved hither and yon, striking swiftly and unexpectedly. But the whole venture was far more desperate than the calm, lucid Latin of Cæsar's "Commentaries" would lead one to suppose. A Kipling would have made these hazardous attacks and stubborn defenses of a far-flung battle-line fighting barbarians in their homeland a thrilling picture. Cæsar, in fact, wrote his book as a political pamphlet, for its effect upon the Roman people, and successful conquest was its main theme. For political reasons he an-

nounced the conquest of Gaul as completed after two years of fighting, and the province was formally annexed amid great enthusiasm at Rome. But revolt after revolt flared up. Cæsar found himself at the end with a force of 30,000 fac-

A COUNCIL OF GALLIC AND GERMAN CHIEFTAINS.

As the scene is one of the last in the series on the column, it probably represents deliberations concerning the terms of peace with the Romans.

From a bas-relief on the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

ing an army of 250,000. The division of the enemy, the confusion of counsel among the different tribes of Gauls, gave him his final victory.

Thus Roman civilization, its blood, its roads, its monuments, its language, its laws, began slowly to penetrate that whole region west of the Rhine which to-day is France and Belgium. It even left lasting effects in Britain, which Cæsar invaded without conquering.

Meantime, his old ally, Pompey, never a strong character,

now rich and spoiled by success, had gone over to the Senate and secured election as sole consul, a virtual dictatorship. Cæsar found himself, his conquest of Gaul completed, threatened with political eclipse. He tried every means to

ROMAN SOLDIERS PUTTING A GALLIC VILLAGE TO THE TORCH.
From a bas-relief on the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

avert civil war. When all else failed, he marched on Rome with his legions. He violated the frontier of the republic when he crossed the Rubicon, a little stream that marked the boundary of his province. Thereat the die was cast and he struck with his usual swiftness. He drove Pompey out of Italy and made himself master of Rome. Pursuing Pompey to Thessaly, he there defeated him in the most brilliant battle of his career. Pompey fled to Alexandria and there was assassinated. Cæsar, following, fell a victim to the charms of

CÆSAR AND CLEOPATRA.

On one occasion Cleopatra sent for Cæsar but was told that he was closeted with his generals and must not be disturbed. Thereupon she wrapped herself up inside a carpet and thus concealed was carried into his presence.

From a painting by J. L. Gérôme.

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and, as events proved, the last of the Ptolemies. For eight months he halted his conquests to be with Cleopatra. Part of the time he was besieged in the palace by Egyptian troops in revolt. By a tragic fatality the rioting fired and totally destroyed the famous Alexandrian Library, one of the greatest losses that has befallen mankind. Artists and writers have speculated much about Cleopatra. Her features on coins of the time are not beautiful. To a Roman general who had passed eight years upon barbarous campaigns she must have summed up all the East—its culture, its luxury, its mystery—and the episode is not overstressed if it is taken as symbolizing that cleavage between East and West, the fascination of the one for the other, and the disaster that sooner or later attended their diverse union.

CLEOPATRA.
From a contemporary coin.

From Asia Minor Cæsar sent his famous message to the Senate: *Veni, vidi, vici* ("I came, I saw, I conquered"). Africa, too, he reduced to subjection, and Spain as well. Returning to Rome, he had himself made Dictator for life, a dangerous step, for it involved an outward break with republican tradition. Amid the forms of the republic he was in effect the first emperor of Rome. As such he showed himself a just and efficient man. Vast plans for buildings, for

roads, for the conquest of the Parthians and the Germans, flowed from his brain. He introduced the Egyptian calendar into Europe, which we still use. It is interesting to speculate on the course of Europe had he lived, for Germany would conceivably have become a Roman province like Gaul, and Roman language and civilization would have spread over the bulk of Europe.

He lived only five years from his crossing of the Rubicon. A group of fanatical republicans, blind to the fact that the republic had long since perished beyond revival, struck down Cæsar with their daggers. One of them, Brutus, student and idealist, was a close friend of Cæsar's. So ended the greatest soldier and man of action that Rome produced. His clearness of mind, his tireless energy, his ability to concentrate his faculties upon a given task would have made him great in any age.

The ancient republic of which the conspirators dreamed never returned to Rome. Two men fought to rule the empire. One was Marc Antony, one of Cæsar's closest friends. The other was a youth of twenty, Octavian (63 B. C.–14 A. D.), Cæsar's grandnephew and adopted heir. Antony was none too able, and before long had retired to Alexandria, where he married Cleopatra and sought to recoup his political fortunes while living amid the splendor of an Eastern potentate. Octavian showed courage and a clear head. He defeated Antony by sea and entered Egypt, annexing it to Rome. Antony and Cleopatra died by their own hands. So

THE ASSASSINATION OF CÆSAR.

From the painting by J. L. Gérôme.

ended the reign of the Ptolemies that had lasted nearly 300 years from the death of Alexander the Great. So ended, too,

MARCUS BRUTUS.
From a bust in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.

the century of civil war that had drenched Italy in blood and destroyed the republic, and began the 500 years of the Roman Empire (30 B. C.).

Octavian lacked the genius of Cæsar, but, possessing tact and a level head, he succeeded in establishing a secure rule where Cæsar had failed. The Roman Empire is always dated from the triumph of Octavian. He did not, however, set up

From a photograph © Ewing Galloway.

THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF TITUS AT ROME.

an empire by name. He perpetuated the forms of the republic, as had Cæsar, and paid them a respect which Cæsar had neither felt nor shown. He assumed no such title as Dictator, which led to the undoing of Cæsar. The title Augustus was conferred on him, and it is under that name that he is commonly referred to. Imperator, also, he was called, from which the modern emperor comes; but it had no such far-flung meaning then.

AN EXTERIOR AND AN INTERIOR VIEW OF THE COLOSSEUM AT ROME AS IT IS TO-DAY.

Built by Vespasian and Titus in 75–80 A. D., the Colosseum seated 87,000 spectators.

Security and peace after bloodshed were the chief blessings that Augustus brought to Rome. He carried out many of the building plans which Cæsar had made; in his own words, he found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of

From a photograph © Ewing Galloway.

THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT NEAR ROME, BUILT IN THE FIRST CENTURY A. D.

marble. The grandeur which still stands in the ruins of the Forum took its origin from the reign of Augustus. The round arch of the Orient was combined with Greek forms in a simple and stately magnificence. The arch of triumph was a Roman creation. Long aqueducts carried on lofty springing arches testified to the great ability of the Romans in construction. But they had no such varied artistic genius as had

the Greeks; their sculpture showed little originality. Greek literature became a passion with educated Romans in the last year of the republic. Cæsar and men like him spoke Greek to one another as much as they did Latin. There have seldom been men more cultivated in literature than these students and patrons of the arts of the Augustan Age. But in the creation of literature Rome was singularly unfruitful. Four writers, truly original and great, belong in the last century of the republic: Lucretius, Catullus, Cicero, and Cæsar. However dry the "Gallic War" may seem as a text-book, it is a masterpiece of clear, swift statement, typically Roman in its bare practical use of language. Cicero (106–43 B. C.), who alone ranks with Demosthenes among the ancient orators, was a steadfast, upright character in Roman politics through the darkest days of civil war. He developed to perfection that sonorous swing of Latin prose which, with its tense brevity of construction and consequent clarity, made its greatness as a speech. Lucretius (*c.* 98–55 B. C.) was the greatest mind of the three and a figure unique in Roman culture. He possessed the same sort of towering imagination, all-searching curiosity, and rich artistic feeling that later reappeared in the Renaissance in Leonardo da Vinci, another Italian. His great work was a long poem, "De Rerum Natura" ("On the Nature of Things"), a scientific epic, a universal history, in verse, wherein he made extraordinarily brilliant guesses, following Democritus, the Greek philosopher, as to early man and nature—foreshadowed, indeed, the mod-

THE ROMAN FORUM AS IT IS TO-DAY.

ern conception of evolution. The lyrics of Catullus rank with the great Elizabethan songs in the English tongue, as moving as they are exquisite.

Science lay hopelessly dead in Rome, crushed out by the practical genius of her people. The geometry of Euclid was used, but only to teach the propositions by rote—the reasoning on which they were based was ignored as having neither value nor interest. Mathematics became a useful aid in construction; it ceased to be a science at the very moment when Alexandrian scholars were on the brink of brilliant discoveries. The same held true of medicine, astronomy, biology, and the other sciences in which Greek genius had so brilliantly lighted the way. The curtain fell upon science in the Western world, not to rise again till modern times. There is no other halt and failure of the human mind so extraordinary.

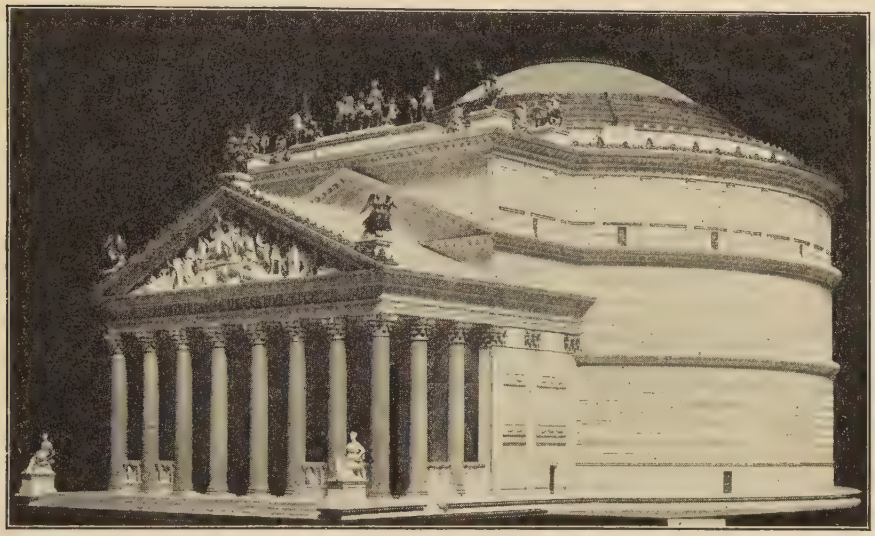
In the Golden Age of Augustus belong two writers typical of such a period of high culture and devotion to the literature of the past—Horace (65–8 B. C.) and Vergil (70–19 B. C.). The former, a wit and polished poet, wrote odes and satires that give an undying picture of the times. The son of a freedman, of unknown race, he was supported by a rich friend of the arts, Mæcenas, whose name has become proverbial for a bountiful patron. Vergil wrote his "Æneid" to be the Roman "Iliad" and "Odyssey" combined, tracing the adventures of mythical ancestors of Augustus back to the Trojan War. It is beautiful verse, the perfect example of an epic produced in a highly critical and sophisticated age. The

contrast with the older epic, handing down traditions by word of mouth, is great. The supremacy of Homer cannot be challenged by this achievement, fine as it is.

A SCENE FROM THE "ÆNEID."
Æneas flees from burning Troy with his father, Anchises, and his son Ascanius.

The four emperors that followed Augustus were a mixed lot. A tyrant, a madman, a fool, and a monster they have been rated on the somewhat prejudiced authority of the Ro-

man historian Tacitus. The monster was Nero. The story of his fiddling while Rome burned has found no confirmation among modern investigators, but enough is left of his vices and crimes to confirm the essential truth of the myth. He



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

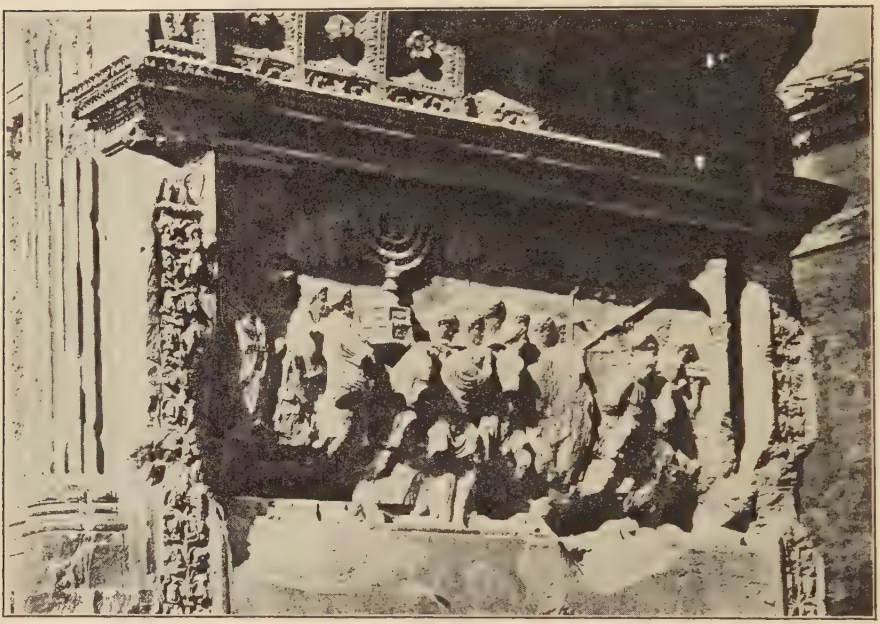
THE PANTHEON, OR TEMPLE OF ALL THE GODS, AT ROME.

Originally built by Agrippa, the Pantheon was reconstructed by Hadrian, and now, after various changes, has become the Church of Santa Maria della Rotunda.

From a reconstruction.

did play the lyre in public competitions and sang in the theatre. Among his crimes, he conspired to have his mother drowned at sea; and when that attack failed, ordered her stabbed to death. As for the burning of Rome, it is true that the rumor spread that Nero had prepared the torch; but modern historians dismiss that report as unfounded. More interesting is the fact that an official investigation fastened the

blame on a new religious sect, but just come out of Palestine, and then gaining strength in Rome—the Christians. As a result of this false charge many Christians were put to death in the first persecution of that faith. This was in 64 A. D.



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum.

BAS-RELIEF FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS, SHOWING THE SEVEN-BRANCHED CANDLESTICK OF JERUSALEM CARRIED IN THE TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION AT ROME ON THE RETURN FROM THE CONQUEST OF THE HOLY LAND.

The second century witnessed the height of Roman power and organization. The first Flavian emperor, Vespasian, a skilful organizer, had already set Rome on the upward path. Two great soldiers, Trajan and Hadrian, both colonials from the province of Spain, ruled in these happiest years. Hadrian, especially, brought to completion the organization

The ROMAN EMPIRE in the time of the Emperors
400 miles
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITANNIA
Rhine R.
GERMANY
The Barbarians
Danube R.
GAUL
THE ALPS
Adriatic Sea
THRACE
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Byzantium
ROME
Naples
Pompeii
MACEDONIA
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GREECE
Smyrna
ASIA MINOR
ARMENIA
Athens
Sicily
Syracuse
Carthage
Tarsus
Antioch
PARTHIA
MAURETANIA
Damascus
Seleucia
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Memphis
Desert
AFRICA
EGYPT
Desert

of the empire under honest and efficient governors and a great imperial code of laws, humane and just. A vast empire,

THE ROMAN BATHS AT BATH, ENGLAND.

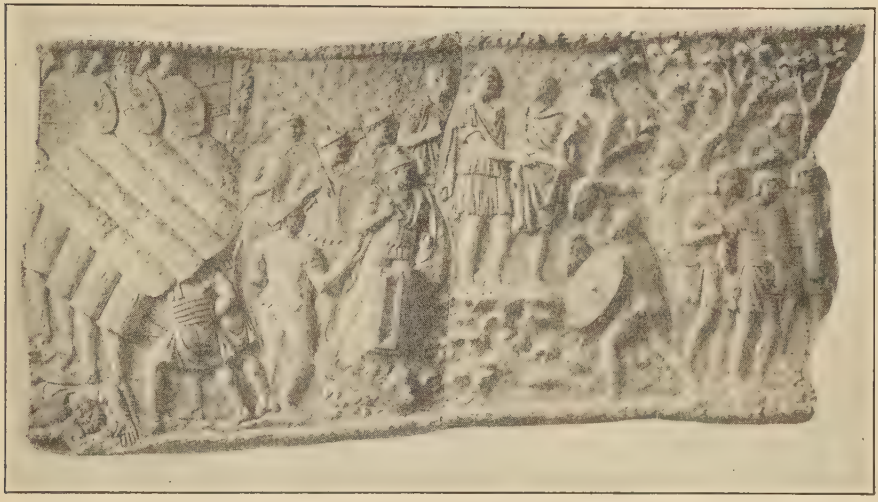
with a new unity, was the Roman state of this era. Roman architecture, the Roman tongue, Roman law, spread their civilizing force throughout Gaul and Spain, even into Eng-

THE ARCH OF TRAJAN AT TIMGAD, AFRICA.

The city of Timgad, or Thamagudi, was built in the second century A. D., during the reign of Septimius Severus. It has been called the Algerian Pompeii because of the beauty and remarkable preservation of its ruins. The Triumphal Arch of Trajan stands in the Decumanus Maximus, or main street of the town, with the forum, the court of justice, and a theatre large enough to accommodate 4,000 persons near by.

From a painting by L. L. Balcom.

land. Roman baths have been unearthed in Bath, England. The ruins of a Roman amphitheatre still stand amid the huts of a North African village. Eastward through Syria to the Euphrates and the Tigris stretch the remains of aqueducts and theatres that Roman genius erected in these towering



SOLDIERS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

At the left they are shown forming a "testudo," a protective covering made with their shields and used in storming walls.

From the bas-relief on the Trajan Column at Rome.

days of her power. There, however, civilization was old beyond the memory of man. More striking was the spread of civilization westward through what is now Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium, and England. Here was the creation of a new empire that left Rome no longer the western outpost of civilization but the centre of a vast Mediterranean world stretching from the Tigris to the Thames.

In all this extraordinary development of an organized

unity Roman law played the central part. It can fairly be regarded as the great contribution of Rome to mediæval and modern times. Both specific rules of law and theories of law entered into the law of the Christian Church and the Holy Roman Empire, and find their descendants in the law of today. A new regard for law, expressing a deeper realization of the service which such public rules of action can render to a community and a nation, matured in the Roman mind and has deeply affected European progress ever since.

A sharp distinction must be made as to the example of Rome in the field of governmental organization. So many words, like republic and senate, come from Rome that there is danger of thinking that the institutions are also derived from corresponding facts in Rome. No such real resemblance exists. The essential device in a modern republic, the representative system by which voters elect legislators to act for them in the government, was unknown to Rome. It was not invented till many centuries later—in recent times. But the Roman republic did set up a new conception of the state, or, rather, a conception born in the Greek mind and applied in Rome. It contrasted sharply with the oriental view, which looked upon an empire as the personal property of its ruler. Republic comes from the two Latin words *res* and *publica*, and it expressed the clear idea that the Roman state belonged to the people of Rome and not to any potentate. This was the ancient ideal working in the minds of Brutus and the other assassins of Cæsar. Down through the first two centuries of

From a photograph © Ewing Galloway.

THE COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS AT ROME.

the empire it still lived with varying force. No dynasty was established. Each emperor was formally elected by the Senate, though more and more that body became the tool of the army.

The last of the great emperors of the old republican empire was Marcus Aurelius (121–180). In his pure and noble life, his devotion to the state, and his scholarly love of philosophy, he harked back to the finest traditions of Rome. His "Meditations," thoughts jotted down in the midst of camp and court, are the purest expression of that Stoic philosophy which was typical of the best of Rome and which has profoundly stirred men's hearts to this day. When he died, a great tradition died with him.

Thereafter the decline of Rome was constant. Even before the reign of Marcus Aurelius the Teutonic barbarians to the north of the Danube and the east of the Rhine had become a grave menace. In the east, beyond the Euphrates and Tigris, the Parthians, descendants of the ancient Persians, had long fought an equal battle with the Roman legions. In the third century a new dynasty, the Sassanids, brought new vigor to the old Persian nation and to the religion of Zoroaster. North and east the empire was beset; and within, the old cleavage between East and West reasserted itself more and more strongly. The republic disappeared forever and the emperors became despots, ruling in the oriental fashion. The empire was divided into two empires, the east and the west, and the Eastern influence came

ROME

Christianity

Spreading of the Roman civilization in the provinces

GOLDEN AGE OF ROME
Virgil, Horace.
Introduction of the Egyptian calendar
Cicero ~ Lucretius ~ Catullus ~ Caesar

HELLENISM

Development of Roman law and government

Adoption of Greek religion
The Sibylline books

ETRUSCAN CIVILIZATION

400
300
200
100
A.D.
B.C.
100
200
300
400
500
600

Romulus Augustulus dethroned by Odoacer

BARBARIAN INVASION

Division of the Empire.
Constantine the Great Christianity
Diocletian. Despotism

Marcus Aurelius

Hadrian

Trajan. Conquest of Dacia
Vespasian

Nero

FOUNDING OF THE EMPIRE

DICTATORS & REVOLUTIONS

Octavian defeats Antony
Julius Caesar. Conquest of Gaul

Pompey. Conquest of Syria
Marius
The Gracchi

PERIOD OF EXPANSION

Destruction of Carthage & Corinth
Conquest of the East, Greece, Asia Minor
Second punic war. Hannibal
First punic war. Building of the Navy

All Italy united under Rome

The Gauls invade Rome

The Etruscan power reduced by the Latin league
Gauls and Greeks

FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLIC

The end of the Etruscan kings of Rome

Struggle for the mastery of Italy.

to the fore. Finally, in 324 Constantine (reign: 306–337) abandoned Rome and built a new capital upon the site of the old Greek town Byzantium on the northern side of the Bosporus. Constantinople it was named; which was to say, Constantine's city, after the style of Alexandria. From this eastern window of Europe, looking out upon Asia, the last years of Rome were ruled. Constantine was the first emperor to embrace Christianity, and herewith entered upon the world scene a new force and a new institution. The end of Rome came in 476, when a Teutonic ruler displaced the last Roman emperor. Already, however, the organization of the Christian Church had spread far and wide and greatly affected the course of the barbarian invasions and all that followed. Before setting down the story of these invasions, this second coming of the North that overran the Roman Empire, it will be necessary to go back and trace the origins of this new religion that came out of the Orient to conquer Europe.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DARK AGES OF EUROPE

I. THE RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

WHETHER one is a Christian or not, one cannot question the capital importance to the Western world of the life and death of Christ. Western chronology marks the birth of Christ by a complete break in the calendar. The device does not overestimate the significance of the date in history. Therefrom developed a faith and an institution which have profoundly affected the character and the history of all Western civilization for over fifteen hundred years, and are still alive and powerful.

The background against which Christ was born in Judea has already been suggested. This small and tenacious people of the Semitic race had the misfortune on leaving the Arabian Desert to make their home on a battle-ground of Europe and Asia. Armageddon, the scene of so many great battles that it has become the symbolic name of all great wars, is a hill in Israel. The Jews were captives in Egypt and captives in Babylon. The nation was conquered by Assyria, by Chaldea, by Persia, by Greece, by Rome. Jerusalem was destroyed again and again. Yet, inspired by their mighty prophets, the Jews held stanchly to their faith in Jehovah, their one God, and in their ultimate rise to power

THE JEWS LED INTO BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.

From a painting by E. Beudemann.

under a great leader, or Messiah. Victory never came to them as a nation. Instead, they gradually spread to the cities of other nations, taking their religion with them. Alexandria was the largest Jewish city of its time, much as New York is to-day. As already set down, the most adventurous branch of the Semitic race, the Carthaginians, Phœnicians overseas, met an equal disaster and dispersion at the hands of the Romans. The third great Semitic people, the Arabs, had remained in their desert home and along its fertile border. Not till the eighth century A. D. were they, under the spur of a new religion, to make their bold thrust westward that was also to end in defeat, though leaving a lasting mark upon Spain.

It was in this small land of outward failure and captivity, of inward hope and faith, that the Christian religion was born. The Semitic tongue, Aramaic, was the speech of Palestine, and was the speech of Christ and His disciples. A Roman governor ruled the land in the name of Augustus. Greek influence was on all sides. Much of Semitic Syria, to the north of Palestine, spoke Greek. To the south was Alexandria, a Greek creation. In Jerusalem itself, the sacred city of Judea, wearing the temple as its crown, was a confusion of tongues and races. It is thought that the gospels were originally set down in Aramaic; but it is a striking fact that these precious, original sources of Christian faith, written but a few decades after the death of Christ, have come down to us only in the Greek tongue. Nor was the eastward progress

of the new faith a marked success. Its first followers were Jews, and it made groups of converts at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. The main thrust of the religion was westward, and its development into a creed and organization was made largely under Greek and Roman influence. Even Paul of Tarsus, its first great leader and interpreter, spoke and wrote in Greek. It is difficult to separate Eastern and Western elements in the Christian religion. It is perhaps fair to say that the first great inspiration came wholly from the East, the development thereof into a church and a creed mostly from the West.

The elaborate rites in which the Christian Church soon clothed the brief and simple words of Christ were drawn from the immemorial expressions of religious faith. Without them the faith of Christ would have disappeared swiftly, the record of personal beliefs suggests. Sacrifice, for example, is as familiar to the Arunta Indians of Australia as it was to the high priests of Israel or the Greeks or Romans. It was natural and inevitable that the early Christians should see in the Crucifixion a sacrifice to be celebrated in the ritual of the Last Supper, or Mass. Each new religion builds on these devotions of the past, fusing the old in the new. Easter is the successor of an old pagan festival. Sunday comes probably from the old worship of Zoroaster, popular at that time in a cult called Mithraism. The other great rival of Christianity was the Egyptian worship of Isis and the other gods and goddesses of the Nile. Greece and Rome produced phi-

ANCIENT JERUSALEM WITH SOLOMON'S TEMPLE IN THE CENTRE

losophers and philosophy, be it noted, but neither people originated religious ideas beyond the primitive array of gods and goddesses personifying the forces of nature.

Likewise the growth of Christian dogma followed the nor-

From a photograph © Publishers' Photo Service.

THE CATACOMBS AT ROME, THE BURIAL-PLACE OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.

mal tendency of human minds to apply, interpret, and define a new faith. Had Christ been born in China the religion growing out of His life and passion would surely have been different from what it was in this Mediterranean civilization. Greek philosophy, for example, inevitably played a considerable part in this process. So did Roman organization, fostering a unity of faith and discipline far and wide.

The Christian faith spread swiftly. Within a hundred years from the Crucifixion its small groups meeting in secret had grown so strong that they attracted the fears and suspicions of the Roman authorities. They were cruelly persecuted under several Roman emperors. Yet the policy of the empire was in general liberal toward all religious faiths, and these persecutions are held by many historians to have been less frequent than supposed. The Roman attitude was certainly more tolerant than that ofttimes assumed by the later Christian Church when it came to power. Deacons, presbyters (elders), and bishops were the earlier officers of the faith, and it seems clear that under the inspiration of Roman example a well-organized church was not slow in developing. Thus when the great Emperor Constantine was suddenly converted to Christianity and established it as the legal religion of Rome, there was a fully developed church extending far and wide through the empire, ready to step forward and match the empire in unity. In fact, the Christian Church possessed a strength and held a loyalty that the declining empire fatally lacked. The fact was an important consideration leading to Constantine's decision.

One of the early acts of Constantine was to call the first general council of the Church. This was in 325 A. D., and the gathering of bishops assembled at Nicæa, across the Bosporus from Constantinople. Already bitter doctrinal controversies had arisen in the Church. The council decided them and stated the faith of the Church in a creed similar to

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

CONSTANTINE, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

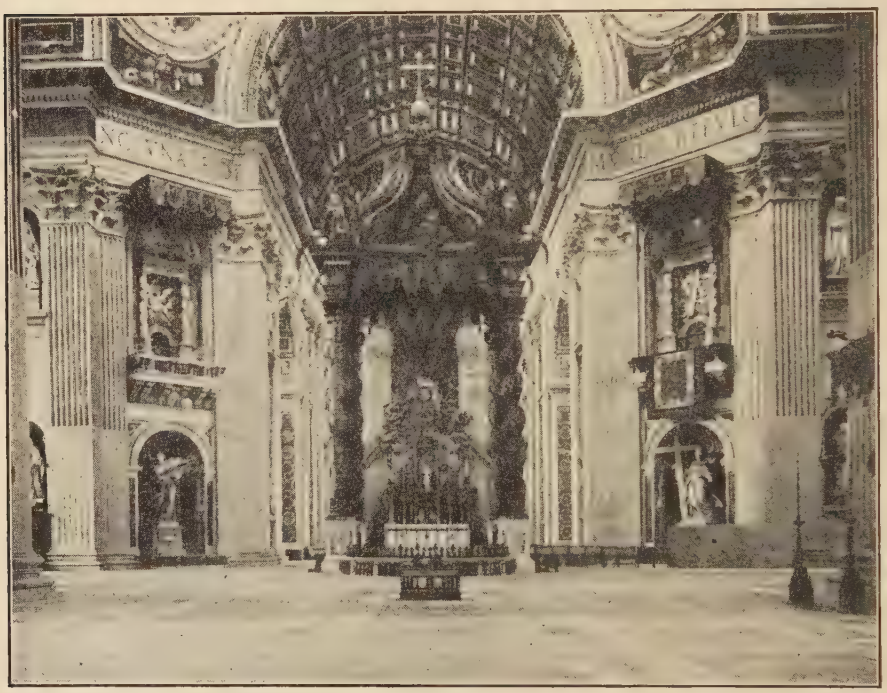
From an ivory relief.

what has since been called the Nicene or Athanasian Creed. The great Arian controversy was the principal issue: Was Christ of one substance with God and coeternal with Him or not? Arius held no, Athanasius held yes. The council sided with Athanasius, and that view of this central question has remained the faith of the Christian Church, Roman, Greek, and Protestant (with minor exceptions), down to our time. Thus through Constantine's leadership dissension was ended for the time and the Church united behind a definite creed. Here was clearly the Roman influence acting to organize the Church.*

A contrary influence, splitting the Church in half, was the definite and final splitting of the empire which followed the death of Constantine. This result came after years of growing divergence between the Greek and Roman halves of the empire. The forces of the East had always been strong east of the Adriatic. Now they led to a final cleavage. The same influences made inevitable the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches. The break actually came over doctrinal differences, some exceedingly minute. The two churches, still called the Greek and the Roman, remain thus separated to this day.

*There were many other doctrinal disputes and heretical faiths in these centuries. The Gnostics were mystics of many sects and confused pagan beliefs. Mithraism was a branch of Zoroastrianism that entered Europe before the birth of Christ, attained great popularity, and was a serious rival of Christianity. Its successor, Manichæism, originated in the third century A. D. in Persia and was largely based on Zoroastrianism but attempted to reconcile that faith with Christianity. It especially stressed the conflict between light and darkness, good and evil. Its dualistic philosophy lived on for centuries in Europe and in the Middle Ages inspired the heresy of the Albigensians in Southern France which resulted in their persecution.

As might be expected, the Greek Church developed a looser organization and a more active doctrinal debate. The Greek fondness for philosophical discussion would not down. The Western Church held more closely to the model of the



From a photograph by Ewing Galloway.

THE PRESENT CHURCH OF ST. PETER AT ROME, BUILT ON THE SITE OF THE BASILICAN CHURCH OF ST. PETER ERECTED BY CONSTANTINE IN 330 A. D.

empire. Above all, it developed a headship in the bishop of Rome which was of far-reaching moment. The Church in Rome was one of the earliest, as St. Paul's epistles record. St. Paul visited it, may have suffered martyrdom there in the days of Nero. According to church tradition—which history can neither confirm nor deny—it was founded by the Apos-

PAUL OF TARSUS PREACHING TO THE ATHENIANS.

From the painting by Raphael.

tle Peter, to whom Christ said: "Upon this rock I will build my church." By the fourth century the power of the Roman bishop was increasingly recognized in the Church, and an imperial decree made him appellate judge over all other bishops. The Western, or Roman, Church had developed the framework of a government destined to become as unified and efficient as that of the empire in its proudest days. The Roman papacy, the oldest line of rulers in the world, began its triumphant course.

2. THE SECOND COMING OF THE NORTH

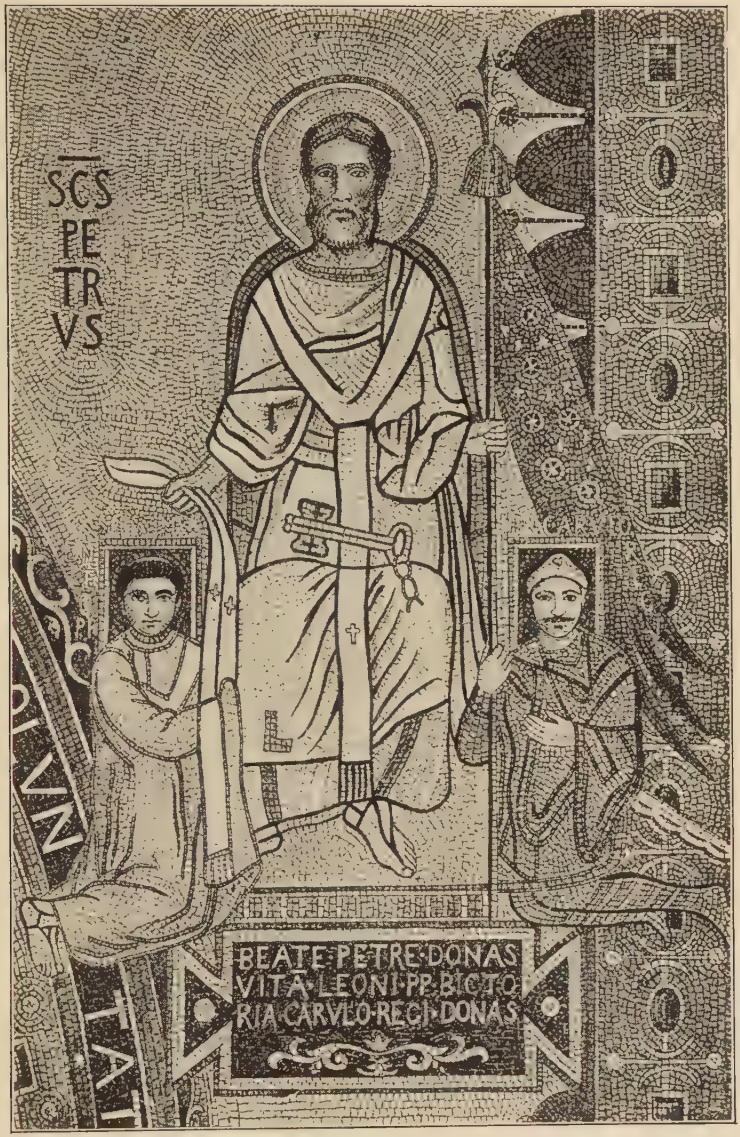
A mingling of the ancient Mediterranean race and its high civilization with hardy barbarians from the North produced the greatness of Greece and Rome. It was from 2000 to 1500 B. C. that these first invasions took place. Now again, after 2,000 years, the North was on the march, and just as the invasions in the case of Greece caused a period of turmoil, during which the Minoan civilization of Crete and the mainland was submerged, so the Roman Empire in Europe was overrun after its downfall.

The Dark Ages has been the common name for this period, and it seems worth preserving. Modern historians have given a fairer picture of the period, and its darkness has been shown to be lit by much learning and virtue. The first section of this chapter, tracing the rise of Christianity, points to the brightest of these beams. The contrast with what came before and what came after is, however, as striking as the old

name suggests. The period is to be thought of as part of the Middle Ages, a name signifying simply the centuries between the collapse of the ancient world and the rise of the modern. The early Middle Ages some historians have called them.

If the fall of Rome is put at 476 A. D., the death of Charlemagne in 814 A. D. is sometimes used to mark the end of the Dark Ages. Yet the coming of the barbarians was a slow process active long before 476; and the ninth and tenth centuries were little better than the eighth. History cannot be fenced off by such dates. At the best they point to events around which slow human processes and tendencies centred. The barbarian darkness can roughly be thought of as thickest over western Europe from 400 to 1000 A. D.

These new barbarians were another wave of the same stock which, from about 2000 B. C., carried the Indo-European tongue to Persia and India, to Greece and to Rome, to Gaul and to Britain. All spoke some division of the Teutonic branch of the Indo-European tongue. If you will look at a map of Europe you will see that the River Danube and the River Rhine rise not far apart in the Black Forest north of Switzerland. North of the Danube and east of the Rhine these Teutonic tribes had dwelt throughout the flowering of Greek and Roman civilization, untouched by their example. They were blonder even than the Celts of Gaul, taller and fiercer warriors. In 400 A. D. they were still hunters and fighters with but the beginnings of farming. Central Eu-



ST. PETER, FOUNDER OF THE SEE OF ROME.

St. Peter is represented as giving the scarf, the symbol of holy office, to Pope Leo III, and the standard, the symbol of royal power, to Charlemagne.

From a ninth-century mosaic (restored).

rope, their home, was still a vast forest, uncleared and uncultivated. Backed by a passage in Tacitus, northern historians for long tended to exaggerate the virtues and institutions of these particular barbarians. The theory of Nordic supremacy

EARLY TEUTONS, WITH ONE OF THEIR HUTS IN THE BACKGROUND.
From a nineteenth-century print.

in the world to-day starts from this assumption. Most modern historians do not share this enthusiasm. The Teutonic tribes were magnificent, upstanding barbarians, great fighters and great drinkers. They were splendid raw material for civilization and they contributed a most valuable strain of blood to all the present-day nations of western Europe. But they brought little in the way of government or social order or any item of civilized society.

Aside from their infusion of vigorous blood, the main service of the Teutonic barbarians was one of destruction. For

they did not attack and defeat the empire in its ancient state of power and usefulness. It had long been declining. It was ready for dissolution. Its proud unity of law, based on gen-

WEAPONS OF THE TIME OF THE TEUTONIC INVASIONS OF ROME.

eral principles of justice, had been lost. The new provincials felt little of the old loyalty to the state that had made the Romans of the republic and the early empire invincible. Countless causes for the decline of Rome have been suggested, ranging from decadent morals to mosquitoes and

©Reinthal and Newman.

GENSERIC, KING OF THE VANDALS, IN ROME.

From the painting by F. Spangeberg.

malaria. A choice between these guesses is impossible. The springs of human actions are too complex and as yet too little understood to be accurately analyzed to their sources. It is safer to study and observe symptoms than to attempt a diagnosis upon insufficient knowledge. One obvious and important fact was that Rome had overextended herself, had sought to assimilate more alien peoples than her native population and institutions could digest. More than half of her armies were barbarians. The whole aspect of the Western empire by 400 A. D. was semibarbarian. Only after the destruction of these falling walls could a new order of state arise.

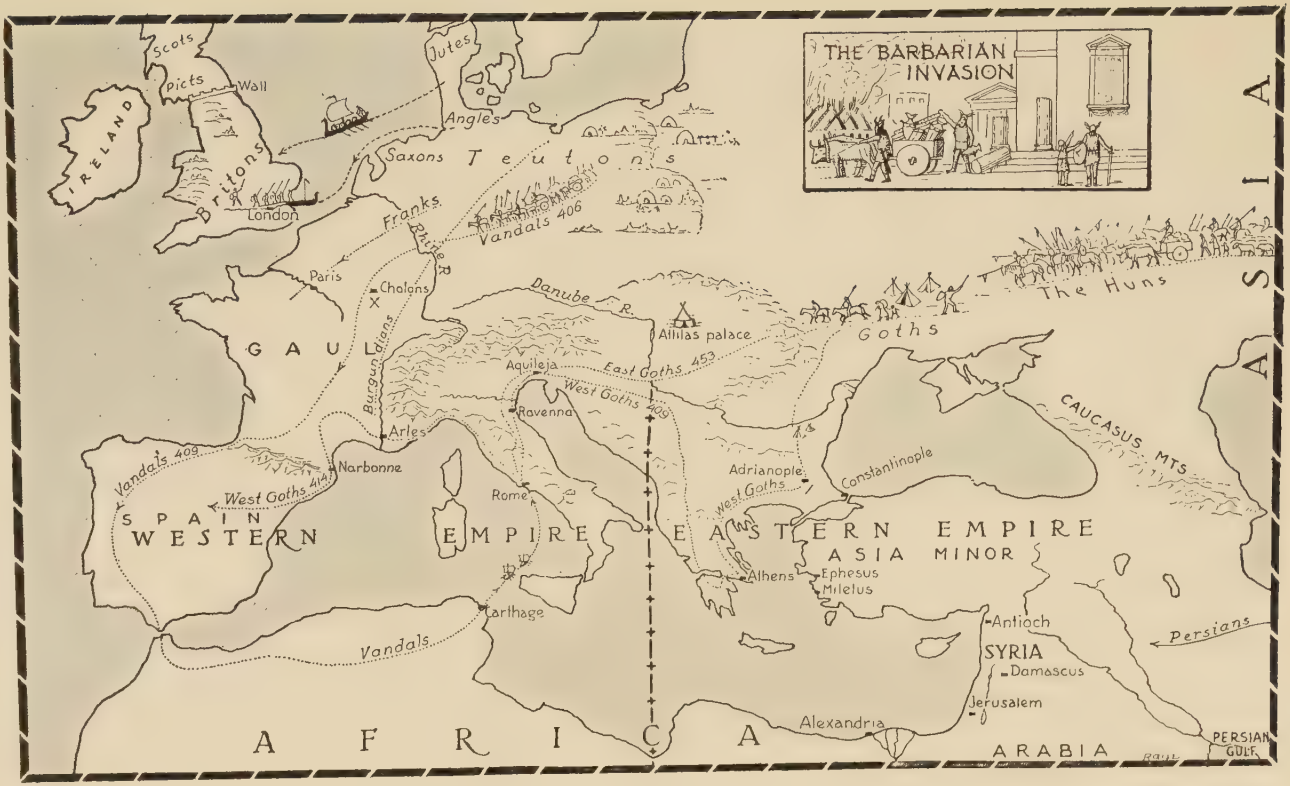
The causes of the migrations were probably threefold. The Teutonic tribes were pushed from behind by the pressure of the Asiatic Huns to the east; they were pushed from within by increase of population; they were tempted ahead by the fertile farms of the Gauls and Romans. They were precisely at that point in development when the hard lesson of agriculture must be learned. A little casual farming on the edge of a forest or along a river-bottom is one thing. Clearing land of a forest, tilling and fertilizing from year to year the same plot, is quite another. The Teutonic tribes, living in patriarchal villages of a hundred or more families, sheltered by huts, clad in skins, assembling for battle under a more or less temporary king, were midway in the lesson. Their general civilization has been compared to that of the American Indians at the discovery of America. By conquering

their more civilized neighbors to the west and south, they could step into farms ready for use.

The details of the turmoil are of far less importance than the results, the final homes of the different tribes and the structure built thereon. For in these centuries modern Europe was laid down so far as its human elements were concerned. No considerable infusion of blood—save in Spain and Portugal—and no great migrations took place thereafter.

Roughly speaking, the movement started in the east and spread westward. The first to march were the Goths dwelling west of the Black Sea and north of the Danube. Among the last were the Franks east of the lower Rhine; in fact, the Franks never did migrate as a people, their progress westward being a slow conquest and absorption that left them the masters of northwestern Europe. The tradition of the Goths pictured them as coming originally from Sweden and Norway. If this is true, it is a striking example of the fusion of North and South produced by these migrations; for these northernmost blonds settled finally in Italy and in Spain, bringing a great infusion of what would now be called Nordic blood by some historians into these southernmost peninsulas of Europe.

There were two branches of Goths: the Visigoths, or West Goths, and the Ostrogoths, or East Goths. The Visigoths were the more active and warlike and the first to move. Under a great general and leader, Alaric (370–410), they


THE BARBARIAN INVASION
Scots
Picts
Wall
Jutes
Angles
Saxons
T e u t o n s
IRELAND
Britons
London
Franks
Rhine R.
Vandals 406
Paris
Chalons
Danube R.
The Huns
Attilas palace
Goths
G A U L
Burgundians
Aquileja
East Goths 453
West Goths 400
Ravenna
Arles
Vandals 409
Narbonne
West Goths 414
Rome
Adrianople
West Goths
Constantinople
CAUCASUS MTS.
S P A I N
WESTERN EMPIRE
EASTERN EMPIRE
ASIA MINOR
Athens
Ephesus
Miletus
Carthage
Vandals
Antioch
SYRIA
Damascus
Jerusalem
Persians
Alexandria
A F R I C A
ARABIA
PERSIAN GULF
A S I A

made the first successful northern attack upon Rome. This magnificent fighting barbarian was confronted by a weakling emperor named Honorius, who dallied in Ravenna when his imperial city was threatened. Rome fell before Alaric's siege and battering hosts in 410, and tradition tells a tale of how Honorius received the tidings. An officer rushed in and cried that Rome had perished. "What!" cried the emperor; "she was feeding from my hand an hour ago"; and was greatly relieved when it was explained that it was not his pet hen "Roma" but the capital of his empire that was lost. True or false, the anecdote, like most myths, gives a significant picture of the degenerate shoulders upon which the mantle of the Cæsars had fallen. It should be added, in view of loose conceptions as to these barbarians, that the Visigoths, while they took money and precious movables, did not destroy Rome or greatly injure it. Alaric expressly commanded his men to respect the churches. These chestnut-haired hunters from the North had more respect for the greatness of Rome than had its own rulers. Thereafter the Visigoths left Italy and turned westward, conquering what is now southwestern France and almost all of modern Spain. Thus the territory north and south of the Pyrenees was for a while united in a Visigothic kingdom, and the same breed of blond northerner fused with the older Mediterranean peoples in both regions.

Next to march were the Vandals, another Teutonic tribe, dwelling to the westward of the Goths on the shores of the

ALARIC'S ENTRANCE INTO ROME.

From an engraving of the nineteenth century

Baltic Sea. These rovers and marauders circled western Europe and traversed Spain before they finally came to rest in northwestern Africa, long famous as a granary of Rome. From the Straits of Gibraltar to Carthage they established a kingdom and, taking to the sea, became the most dreaded

THE VANDALS INVADING AFRICA.

pirates of the Mediterranean. They, too, in 455, took and plundered Rome. Yet neither here nor generally in their piratical marauding did the Vandals wantonly destroy monuments and buildings in a fashion to justify the modern use of the word "vandalism" for such purposeless acts. On the other hand, the Vandals left little enduring influence upon history; for the climate of the south conquered them where Rome had failed. They were one of the first northern people in history to migrate so far south as to lose their northern traits and be swallowed up in the native blood.

The Burgundians, close neighbors of the Vandals on the Baltic, moved but a short distance to the south, settling in the region of the Rhône. In these rich and fertile valleys, of

what is now southeastern France, these invaders speedily became Christianized and Romanized, and leaders in the new civilization that was to grow out of this crossing of the older races of the Roman Empire with these new and vigorous barbarians.

Farther on to the north and west were the Franks. These Teutonic tribes never packed up and marched off as did the Vandals and the Goths. They stayed at home and waxed in power by slowly annexing surrounding soil and peoples. The lower Rhine region, from Cologne to the sea, saw their beginning. They grew into the greatest of the Teutonic kingdoms, masters of all northwestern Europe. They were the most important factor in the creation of the new civilization that was to grow amid the ruins of the old. Of all these barbarians they were for a while the most cruel and bloodthirsty, and because of their development on their homeland they retained their old laws and customs over a long period of transition.

About the same time that the Franks spread westward, the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, three tribes living somewhat to the east of the Franks, at the base of the Danish peninsula, began to land on the east coast of Britain. They came in larger and larger numbers, finally conquering all England. Some of them were seafaring folk, forerunners of the Vikings who a few centuries later were to harry and plunder and conquer far and wide. Since Britain had felt but distantly the civilization of Rome, and since these Teutonic

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AN ANGLO-SAXON KING.

From the painting by C. Haag.

conquerors had been wholly untouched by it, the rise of civilization in Britain was slow, lagging behind even the barbarian Franks across the Channel.

Yet even here it is easy to exaggerate the importance of

THE LANDING OF THE SAXONS IN ENGLAND.

this last deposit of peoples upon western European soil. Their numbers were never great. They entered a region already well peopled by a race in touch with the high civilization of Rome. The invaders were generally in a minority, it is probable. The civilization that flowered after the dark centuries of migration and turmoil was built on the old, and the people that resulted were a fusion of the old and the new.

A later migration brought another strain of blond barbarians into northern Italy, the Lombards, who marched

from the region of the Danube in the sixth century and settled in the valley of the Po. They conquered with great cruelty and were cordially hated by the Italic peoples. Lombardy is still the name of this region.

Nothing less than the whole basis of modern Europe was laid down in this last great shuffling of peoples. The hands were being dealt with which the game of Europe was to be finally played.

There are suggestive pictures of these centuries of turmoil in the epics that have come down from them, called sagas in the Teutonic languages. The parallel with the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" is complete; the age was in the same sense an age of barbarian heroes impinging upon an older civilization; if the poetry was not as great, that was because these northern and western Europeans lacked the supreme artistic gift of the Greeks.

In Burgundy grew up the "Nibelungenlied," a set of folk-tales combining mythical gods and goddesses with real heroes and heroines, as yet vaguely identified. The final versions—upon which Richard Wagner based his operas of the Ring series—were not written down till many centuries later. Originally they were recited by bards at the feasts of kings and nobles, precisely as were the poems of Homer. The Franks left no epics. "Beowulf" is the saga of the Angles. The familiar Celtic legends of King Arthur and the Round Table are probably based on old Welsh sources. In the form in which they have come down to us, however, the earlier

From a painting by Delitz, by courtesy of the Victor Talking Machine Co.

A SCENE FROM THE "NIBELUNGENLIED."

Brunhild, one of the Valkyries, bearing a wounded warrior to Valhalla.

elements are overlaid with romantic and chivalrous ideas belonging not to the barbaric age of the seventh century in which King Arthur is supposed to have lived, but to the Middle Ages, in which these versions were composed. The Irish sagas, though not written down till mediæval times, tell of

A SAXON SHIP OF THE TYPE WHICH BROUGHT THE INVADERS TO ENGLAND.

cattle raids and savage splendor clearly belonging to earlier centuries. The Icelandic sagas, or eddas, contain much of the "Nibelungenlied," showing how wide-spread were these ancient myths. They are among the most beautiful of the Teutonic epics.

The weakness of these later Indo-European poems, as compared with the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," is a lack of construction; they are vivid and glowing in language but they lack orderly development, proportion, and unity of design. The earlier Northmen, descending upon the Mediterranean 2,000 years before, fused with a people of keen artistic sense,

and the epics then born attained a beauty never equalled before or since. Yet the state of barbarian splendor described—the heroic champions fighting and drinking, the mingling of history and mythology, the loves and hates, the vengeances and terrors—suggests a similar era. In many respects these Dark Ages of western Europe, from 400 to 1000 A. D., were much like the Dark Ages around the Ægean from 1500 to 1000 B. C. Save in isolated spots, the second coming of the North set back civilization in western Europe some 2,000 years. What had been gained was not lost, however. The continuity of Western civilization was never wholly severed. The seeds of Greece and Rome and Christianity still lived on beneath the barbarian deposit, and were destined before many centuries to thrust themselves aloft to flower with renewed vigor in mediæval and modern times.

3. TWO THRUSTS FROM THE EAST

The influences of Asia upon Europe have already been many. All European civilization took its rise near that crossroads of three continents at the eastern end of the Mediterranean around which clustered Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete. Christianity, to become the most powerful single influence upon the Western world, originated in Asia. In this sense the contributions of the East to the West have been many and great and will continue.

So also have the efforts at colonization and conquest by the East already been important. They were two: Persia

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AN EARLY GERMAN FEASTING-HALL, SIMILAR TO HEOROT, THE HALL OF KING HROTHGAR, DESCRIBED IN "BEOWULF."

From a painting by F. Leeke.

From Meyrick & Smith's "Costumes of the British Isles."

A ROMANIZED BRITON.

He is carrying a Roman sword and wears a toga.

and Carthage, of which the former was allied by blood with one element in the racial mixture of Europe. Two more arrive now, one by the Huns in the fifth century, and one by the Arabs in the eighth. The former left few traces of blood or culture; the latter permanently affected the Spanish race and the civilization of Europe.

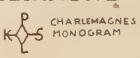
To complete this summary of Eastern invasion, one later thrust came from the Tatars under Genghis Khan in the twelfth century, a people related to the Huns. They were defeated in western Europe, like all the previous thrusts, but they left upon eastern Europe a great deposit of Asiatic colonists. They succeeded in making Russia to some extent Asiatic. Also, as an incident, the Turk came to Asia Minor and the Balkans.

Only during these five periods has Asia invaded Europe otherwise than by infiltration along the borders.

(*a*) *The Huns*

The Huns came from the heart of Asia, were a branch of the yellow race of man, and under their great leader Attila narrowly missed conquering all Europe. They were a nomadic people, living in the saddle, terrible in battle, swift to destroy. Their restlessness had much to do with starting the Teutonic tribes on their migrations. Under Attila (died 453) they stretched their kingdom from the Caspian to the Rhine. Not satisfied with that, Attila crossed into Gaul, sacking and burning cities as he went.

THE DARK AGES

	SPAIN	ENGLAND	FRANCE ~ GERMANY	ITALY ~ THE WESTERN CHURCH
1000	Successive conquests of the Christians		Hugh Capet, King of France 987	
			Otto crowned as Emperor	
			Hungarians defeated	
			Henry the Fowler in Germany	Marosia imprisons Pope John X
900		King Alfred	Hungarian raids	
		THE DANES	Breaking up of the Empire	PRIEST INLAID CROSS
	ARAB CIVILIZATION Mathematics ~ Numerals ~ Paper	VIKING (DANISH) RAIDS	CARLOVINGIAN KING	
800		ANGLO-SAXON KINGS	CHARLEMAGNE crowned as Emperor by Leo III. 800.	
			 CHARLEMAGNES MONOGRAM	
			Pepin King of the Francs	BASILICA OF ST. PETER in ROME
			Charles Martel	
			X Battle of Tours 732	
700	Arab conquest		Rois fainéants with the Mayor of Palace as actual ruler	Rising spiritual power of the Church
	VISIGOTH BUCKLE		FRANKISH SOLDIER	LOMBARD CROWN
	KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS	Christianity		Gregory the Great
600		SAXON DEITY		Lombard conquest of N. Italy
	VISIGOTH LAMP		MEROVINGIAN COIN	TOMB OF THEODORIC IN RAVENNA
500		The coming of the Anglo-Saxons	Christianity 496. Clovis king of the Franks	Ostrogoth kings
	Visigoth invasion		Westgoths in Southern France	Fall of the Western Empire
			Attila defeated 451	Leo the great. Rise of Papacy
			The Burgundians settle on the Rhone	The Vandals sack Rome. 455
400	Vandals in South Spain	The Roman legions withdraw	Vandal invasion of France	The Visigoths capture Rome Alaric
				Division of Julian the Apostate. Mithraism.
300	CELTIC PEOPLES UNDER ROME			Constantine

Raisz

OF EUROPE

Spain + England are also shown on separate charts.

EASTERN EUROPE

Roman christianity in Hungary and Poland

Greek church in Russia + Serbia

Coming of the Hungarians

Rurik, the Norman prince of Novgorod. Beginning of Russian

Christianity (greek) in Bulgaria

King Boris.

defeated by Krum of Bulgaria

Finnish peoples invade North Europe

Avars in Pannonia

Successive infiltrations of slavic peoples in the Balkans and Central Europe

Slavic peoples in Russia

The thrust- - - -

The Western world was in disorder as a result of the migrations. Attila was an able general at the head of a swift and savage army. The hour was critical. Finally, near Châlons, in the valley of the Marne, where so many great battles have

From Frost's "Pictorial History of the Middle Ages."

ATTILA AND HIS HUNS.

The heads of their conquered enemies are hung about their horses' necks.

been fought, the issue was met. Fortunately by this time Visigoths and Romans had united to repel the invader. The carnage was terrible. "Ruthless, manifold, immense, obstinate," a Gothic historian called the struggle. Victory at one time seemed to favor the Huns; but in the end the Goths and Romans prevailed. Attila's forces were overwhelmed and he retreated across the Rhine. Châlons surely deserves to rank with Salamis as one of the decisive battles of the world.

THE BATTLE OF CHÂLONS.

Attila was a typical Tatar, short, dark, broad-chested, snub-nosed. He was known as "the scourge of God" and was dreaded throughout the Christian world. There are generous acts of mercy to his credit as well as a long record of bloody

From F. R. Martin's "Miniature Painting."

THE ANGEL GABRIEL APPEARING TO MOHAMMED.

From the manuscript of Jami'al-Tawarikh, at the University of Edinburgh.

destruction. He and his people were so unlike the Westerners, in appearance and customs as well as language, that any real understanding seems to have been impossible. When Attila died, the power of the Huns crumbled away. Such of them as remained in Europe were swallowed up in the various Teutonic tribes. The first great threat of Asia had utterly collapsed.

(*b*) *The Rise of Islam*

While the Teutonic tribes were marching and fighting across Europe an obscure event was happening far away in Semitic Arabia, the consequences of which were destined to be felt in westernmost Europe within a century. Mohammed (died 632), an Arabian camel-driver of Mecca, began to see visions and hear messages which he was convinced came from God. The religion which he began to preach spread with amazing rapidity. In his lifetime all Arabia accepted it. The year 622 was taken as the starting-point of a new era, precisely as the Christian era was established. (In that year occurred the Hegira, or flight of Mohammed from Mecca.) The sayings of the new prophet, written down by his followers in his lifetime, were collected in a book soon after his death, called the Koran, which became the Mohammedan bible. He called his new religion Islam, which meant submission, submission to Allah; Moslem, from the same root, is often used for Mohammedan.

Islam was a monotheistic faith like Judaism and Christianity. "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his prophet." It was more definite, less mystical, than Christianity. Adherence called for certain simple practices, praying five times a day with the face turned toward Mecca, a pilgrimage to Mecca; and life was regulated by many detailed rules requiring abstinence from strong drink and the giving of alms to the poor, for example. A man was permitted to

From F. R. Martin's "Miniature Painting."

A PAGE FROM THE KORAN OF SULTAN BAYAZID (1481–1512 A. D.).

have four wives and as many concubines as he could afford. The rejecters of Islam were destined to be burned in hell for eternity. The faithful, and especially those who died fighting for Islam, were to enter a paradise profusely provided with beautiful maidens. Woman was from every point of view regarded as a much inferior being.

The spread of this new religion was extraordinarily rapid. In its wake came the equally swift rise of a great and powerful Mohammedan empire. Theretofore the Arabians had been split into numerous warring sects. Now, united by a common faith, they marched forth confidently to conquer in the name of Islam. There is no better illustration in history of the power of a non-economic factor to control the fate of many peoples.

It sent the Arabs northward across Syria, eastward to conquer all Persia clear to the River Indus, and to found the new city of Bagdad near the site of ancient Babylon. Bagdad soon became the richest city of its time. To the west Arabian armies conquered Egypt and marched westward to the gates of Gibraltar. The caliphs—who were the rulers of all Moslems and the head of the Church as well—had tried in vain to cross the straits of the Bosporus and conquer Constantinople.* In the West they had better fortune. Spain was grievously misruled and lacked all sense of unity. The invaders, a few Arabs and many Berbers, dark whites from northern

*It was not until 1453 that a Mohammedan people, the Turks, conquered Constantinople and made it a sacred Mohammedan city. The Sultan of Turkey is now the head of Islam precisely as the caliphs ruled it.

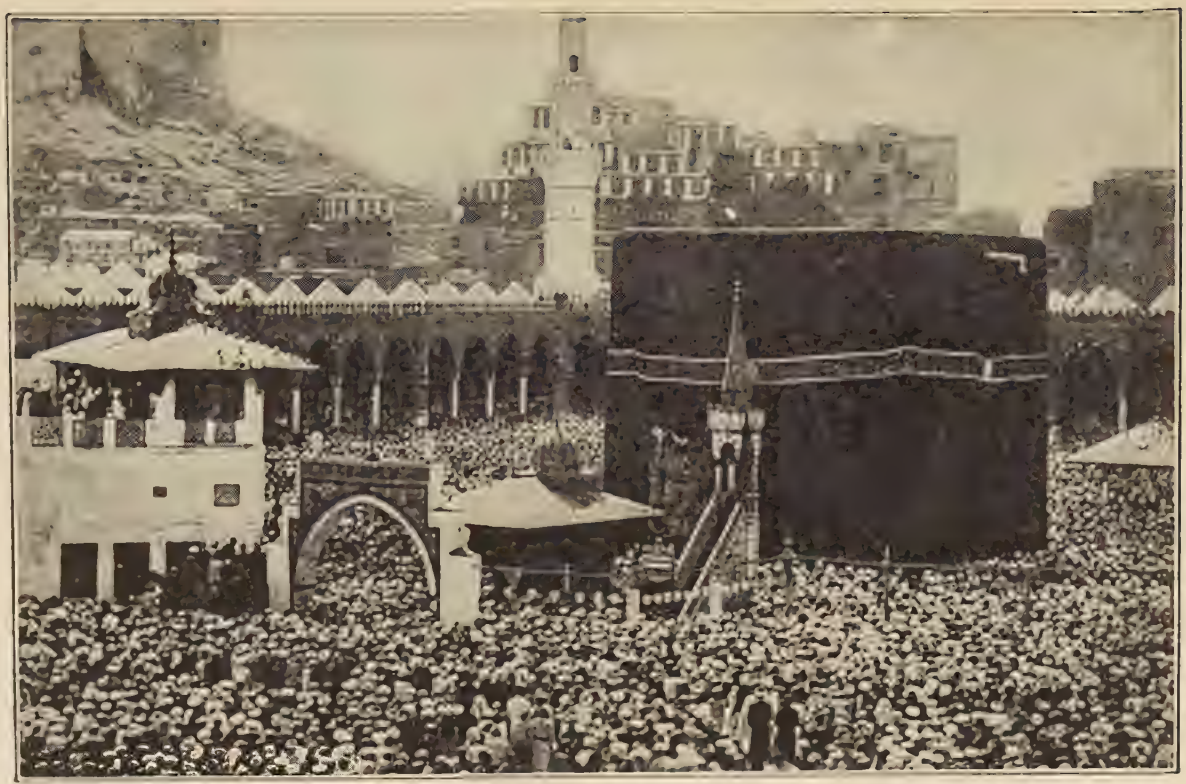
Africa, were aided by factions within and by the persecuted Jews. All Spain to the Pyrenees fell swiftly under the Moslem conquerors.

Emboldened by their success, the invaders a few years later

THE MOHAMMEDAN HOUR OF PRAYER.
Modern Arabs at their devotions in the Sahara Desert.

crossed the Pyrenees and set out to conquer southern France. Near Tours in 732—exactly one hundred years after the death of Mohammed—they met the Frankish army in a historic battle. Charles Martel commanded the Christian forces and lived up to his name, which meant the Hammer. He won a sweeping victory that checked for all time the thrust of the Moslem forces north of the Pyrenees.

The story of the Moslem occupation of Spain is long and



From a photograph © Publishers' Photo Service.

MODERN MOHAMMEDANS AT MECCA DURING THEIR ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE

In the centre of the square is the Kaaba, or principal shrine, which contains a sacred black stone toward which the faithful turn in praying.

From a photograph © Publishers' Photo Service.

THE CITY OF BAGDAD AS IT IS TO-DAY.

turbid. It lasted five centuries. The conquerors were divided among themselves; sometimes a powerful Arab was in control, sometimes the Moors, a mixed people of northern Africa, Phœnician, Roman, what-not, who had been con-

From F. R. Martin's "Miniature Painting."

THE PROPHET MOHAMMED AT THE SIEGE OF THE CITY OF BANU NADIR.

From the manuscript of Jami'al-Tawarikh, at the University of Edinburgh.

quered by the Arabs and had joined in the conquest of Spain, seized the power. The government ranged all the way from a just and splendid reign by an oriental potentate of the highest type to sloth, corruption, and anarchy.

The Arabian civilization, preserving elements of the hard-won wisdom of the Greeks and the Alexandrian scholars, was far in advance of the dark state to which the barbarian invaders had brought Europe. Beautiful mosques were built in Spain. At Granada the palace of the Alhambra still stands, a monument to the richness of oriental color and design. The greatest contribution of Arabia in this period of sudden in-

tellectual flowering was in mathematics. Algebra is an Arabian word, and the fact gives due credit to a number of great Arabian mathematicians who carried forward the work be-

From a photograph © Publishers' Photo Service.

THE COURT OF THE MYRTLES, IN THE ALHAMBRA, GRANADA.

gun by the Greek mathematicians. The Arabic numerals—including the placing of the digits according to a decimal system, and the use of the zero—began to supplant the clumsy Roman system of numerals in Europe in the twelfth century. Without them modern arithmetic, with its enormous

From a photograph by Lacoste, Gibraltar.

THE WALLS OF THE ALHAMBRA FROM BELOW.

convenience to science, trade, and commerce, would have been impossible. One other great invention brought to Eu-

CHARLEMAGNE BAPTIZING THE SAXONS.

rope by the Arabs deserves to be mentioned here—paper. Both of these inventions came to Arabia from the Far East: the numeral system from India, paper from China. The two

constitute almost the only large contributions of the Far East to European civilization.

Most important of all, the Moslem invasion left in Spain a mixed people with a considerable mingling of Eastern and African blood not found elsewhere in Europe. Here was a permanent and essential alteration in the map of peoples, the effects of which were bound to endure long after the star of Islam, that blazed up so swiftly and so brilliantly, had faded in the west to a minor magnitude. It is in a sense fair to think of Spain as a border state, a fusion of Europeans and Semites, somewhat as Russia and the Balkans, the border nations to the east, partake of the character of Asia and of Europe. Yet, as will appear, the European peoples of Spain fought long and desperately to a complete victory over the invaders, and by slaughter and expulsion reduced the alien elements to a minor strain.

4. CHARLEMAGNE AND THE CLIMAX OF DISORDER

Such a turbulent age naturally produced a number of strong men. Charles Martel was one of them. His grandson, Charlemagne (*c.* 742–814), towered yet higher, and stands among the great figures of all history. His life was a picture of his times, and the Middle Ages rightly made him their first and greatest hero.

Charles Martel never held the title of king; but as the king's minister, called the Mayor of the Palace, he was in effect the ruler of the western Franks. Rois fainéants these

BRONZE EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF A FRANKISH SOVEREIGN, BELIEVED TO BE CHARLEMAGNE.

In the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

chapel in Lorsch
Charlemagne was crowned here
The Basilica of St. Peter in Rome
His chapel in Aachen
Vikings
Danes
200 miles
Hamburg
Bremen
Britons
ENGLAND
SAXONY
Slavs
Cologne
Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle)
Fulda
Prague
Mayence
Paris
Regensburg
Strasburg
BAVARIA
Lorsch
Orleans
Avars
Tours
Poitiers
BURGUNDY
Venice
AQUITANIA
Serbs
Ravenna
ITALY
Rome
Arabs
SOLDIER
DAME
THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE
SCRIPTOR
MUSICIAN

do-nothing kings were called. By Charlemagne's time the title had shifted to the real masters. It is noteworthy that these new Frankish kings thought it worth while to receive the Pope's approval, and they were all anointed at Rome with holy oil, ruling thereafter "by the grace of God." The fact is striking proof both of the spread of Christianity and the power of the papacy. In the year 800 the Pope crowned Charlemagne Emperor of the Romans, thereby shifting this ancient title to the new line of northern kings and establishing a long-lived state that became known as the Holy Roman Empire, and amid varying fortunes lasted until Napoleon took Europe to pieces and rebuilt it on his own plans.

Charlemagne was born a Teuton and he remained a Teuton in every custom, disdaining Roman splendor. He dressed in the simple Frankish costume—a short tunic of wool or skins and leggings of cloth or leather. He wore his hair long, in the Teutonic fashion. With his great beard and majestic height he was an imposing figure, a truly regal head of the state. He was a huntsman and a fine swimmer; his physical strength played a large part in the success of his military campaigns, which he won rather by his energy and swiftness of attack than by great generalship.

He built the Frankish kingdom into a great empire, uniting the eastern and western Franks, and then conquering the Saxons, a Teutonic people, still barbarians and heathen, dwelling in what is now northern Germany. The latter conquest took many years. Charlemagne fought not less for the

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THE CROWNING OF CHARLEMAGNE.

From the painting by Raphael, in the Vatican.

Church than for his kingdom, and when he conquered, made the Saxons subjects of the Pope in religion, as well as his own subjects. Later Charlemagne marched southeast and con-

THE CROWN OF CHARLEMAGNE.

quered the Lombards, adding northern Italy to his kingdom; east to drive off the Bohemians and other Slavic peoples, and certain Asiatic peoples, kin of the Huns, who were always beating against the eastern frontier of Europe and had settled in the great plain of the Danube, where now is modern Hungary; and southwest into Spain to rescue the Christians from

the Moors. In Spain he conquered only the northernmost region, and his expedition thither is best known for a minor inci-

ROLAND AND OLIVER.
From statues at the door of the Cathedral of Verona.

dent that had no historical significance whatever, but chanced to be preserved in a famous French epic of the Middle Ages, the "Song of Roland." In the pass of Roncesvalles in the Pyrenees the rearguard of Charlemagne's army was cut to

A ROOM IN A FRANKISH PALACE OF THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

pieces by the enemy, and Roland of Brittany was slain there. So much is history. Upon this the versifiers of later centuries built a long battle-poem, with Roland and his friend Oliver and Charlemagne, the great Christian emperor, as the heroes. The case is a good example of the care with which literary records must be used as the source of history. The "Song of Roland" is mainly myth, the facts are grossly magnified, and the characters largely inventions; yet in its earliest form it preserves much of the spirit of the Carolingian age.

If the Empire and the

THE CHARLEMAGNE WINDOW IN THE CATHEDRAL OF CHARTRES.

In the lower part of the window is depicted Charlemagne's legendary crusade to Jerusalem; in the upper, his expedition into Spain. The highest panes of all represent the Battle of Roncesvalles and the death of Roland.

From Viardot's "Charlemagne"

A FRANKISH SCRIPTORIUM OF THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE

Four monks are copying books and manuscripts while a ruler, possibly Charlemagne, sits on his throne with a finished manuscript in his hand.

Church were first in Charlemagne's mind, learning followed close after. He gathered about his court the greatest scholars of his time, in particular, Alcuin of England (735–804).

CHRIST IN MAJESTY.

From a Carolingian Gospel Book in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

The emperor had no book education in the primitive Frankish court of his boyhood; he learned to read both the Frankish tongue and Latin in his maturity; he tried also to

learn to write, but found the task too difficult for his advancing years. His delight was to be read to by the learned men of his court. By his order Alcuin organized a school of the palace for the education of the royal and noble children; and for the wider diffusion of learning, he directed that a school should be established in every diocese of the kingdom for the children of both freemen and serfs. As had been true throughout the Dark Ages, and was to continue throughout the Middle Ages, it was the Church that kept learning alive, and it was to the churchmen that Charlemagne turned to advance his projects of education.

A noble picture the great emperor makes sitting in his court, listening to this book and that—a history, a grammar, an astronomy, or, his favorite among all, St. Augustine's "City of God"—and planning how these riches of the mind might be shared with his people. Plainly, the line between barbarism and civilization is no easy one to draw; many a later prince, surrounded by vast learning, lacked the wisdom and spirit of scholarship that this rough Teutonic warrior possessed and practised.

The Middle Ages are often dated from Charlemagne's time, and there is much reason for regarding him as the pioneer of much that was typical of that period. But he did not attempt to found a lasting empire. His realm speedily fell apart after his death, and his three grandsons carved it into three kingdoms faintly resembling the later nations of France, Germany, and Italy. West Frankish and East Frank-

ish the two former were called; to Lothair, who took Italy, was also assigned a long narrow strip of territory lying between the two Frankish kingdoms, Lotharingia by name, whence the modern French Lorraine. So early was the problem of an Alsace-Lorraine foreshadowed. In this period the lights of learning which Charlemagne lit were not extinguished, but all Europe relapsed into fresh disorder and invasion. The great reign of Charlemagne was a false dawn, and it was not until two centuries later that order and progress were resumed.

The old invaders fell upon Europe once more, the Mohammedans entering southern France from Spain and the Slavs and Huns advancing from the east; and a new and particularly bold breed of men, the last of the Teutonic tribes to migrate, the Norsemen or Vikings, from the ports of what is now Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, began to ravage far and wide. Danish sea-rovers invaded England repeatedly in the ninth century. Alfred the Great (848–901), an outstanding king, with many of the noble traits of Charlemagne, fought them with success; but new bands arrived, and for a time England was ruled by a Danish or Norse king. Along the coast of the Franks they harried the coast towns and sailed up the Seine as far as Paris. Scotland, Ireland, Iceland, Spain, Africa, Italy—there were few shores which these daring wanderers of the Viking Age did not touch. To the west they reached Greenland, and almost certainly the mainland of America, Labrador, Nova Scotia, or New England, thus per-

From a photograph © Ewing Galloway.

THE OLD STONE MILL AT NEWPORT, R. I., WAS ONCE BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN BUILT BY THE VIKINGS FIVE HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE COLUMBUS'S DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

haps preceding the discovery of America by Columbus by five centuries. Other Norsemen from what is now Sweden harried the shores of the Baltic and by land marched far into Russia, launching boats upon the Black Sea and the Caspian,

THE VIKINGS
ICELAND
to Greenland + Vinland
the home of the Northmen
RUSSIA
founded by the Northmen
Kiev
ENGLAND
London
GERMANY
NORMANDY
Paris
Orleans
FRANCE
HUNGARY
Bordeaux
ITALY
Constantinople
EASTERN EMPIRE
SPAIN
Rome
SICILY
THE ARABS

penetrating even into Persia. Few other peoples have ever spread so far and wide.

All this they did in open boats, high at bow and stern, low amidships, long and narrow, propelled chiefly by oars, but

© *John Swain & Son, Ltd.*

KING ALFRED'S LONG SHIPS, NEWLY BUILT FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REALM, ATTACK VESSELS OF THE DANISH INVADERS STORM-BEATEN IN SWANAGE BAY, 877 A. D.

From a painting by Colin Gill, by courtesy of Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd.

carrying one square sail for use when the wind was fair.* The war-boats bore a dragon or snake's head at the prow. The Vikings were marauders and plunderers and went into battle with a peculiar rage that was known and dreaded. The berserk's way it was called, and berserker is used to-day to

*The famous Gokstad ship, dug up from a funeral pyre in Norway, was 79 feet overall, 16 feet wide, and drew 3 feet 7 inches. She carried 32 oars, 16 on a side. She was built of oak and beautifully designed.

THE ARRIVAL OF DANISH SEA-ROVERS UPON THE SHORES OF ENGLAND.

From a painting by Herbert A. Bone.

describe one who fights with a blind fury. Yet they were far from being pirates in the modern sense. They settled large colonies in England and in France and brought marked abilities with them. Their adaptability was great. Settled among

THE VIKING SHIP FOUND AT GOKSTAD.
It is now in the Oslo Museum.

the Franks in what became the province of Normandy, they speedily adopted the religion, language, and manners of those earlier immigrants, now well on the way to civilization, thanks to the remnants of Roman influence that had survived the Dark Ages in Gaul. It is these Norsemen, mingled with the Franks and yet earlier Gauls and Romans of the region along the Channel, who are the Normans of history. That name is used to describe these transplanted Vikings fused with

an older civilization. How much of their passion for adventure they handed down to their descendants, the Middle Ages were to discover. Normans crossed the Channel and conquered England, and Normans captured Sicily and southern Italy. The Viking Age came to an end, but its spirit flared up again and again; perhaps still lives in many an adventurer of to-day.

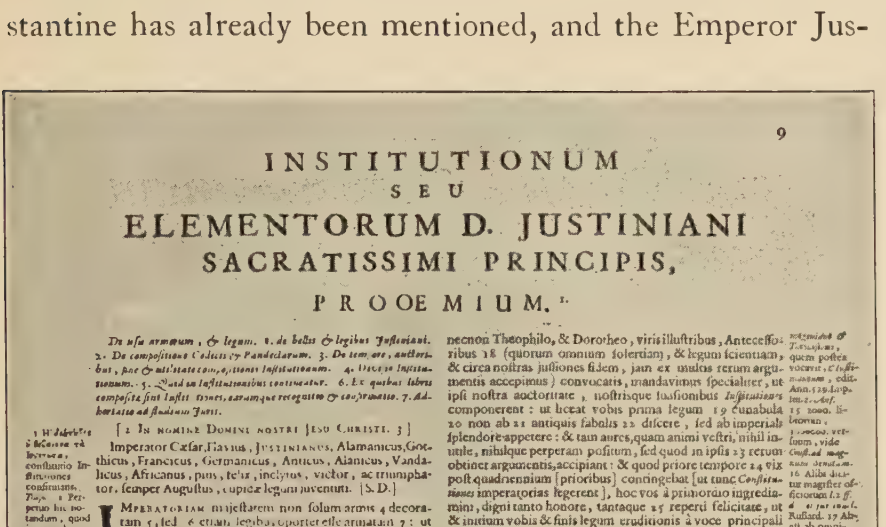
5. THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST

While western Europe lapsed into these centuries of disorder and ignorance, eastern Europe held high the banner of Greek and Roman civilization and developed its own independent culture and art, Christian in motive yet profoundly influenced by the splendor of the Orient. Byzantine, this Eastern Empire and art are often called, after the ancient city of Byzantium, which Constantinople replaced. The latter might fairly be rated the leading city of the Western world throughout not only the Dark Ages, which have been described, but the Middle Ages which followed. Byzantine art, there developed, profoundly influenced Mohammedan mosques at Damascus, Cairo, and Cordova, and Christian churches not only in Moscow and St. Petersburg but in Rome, Ravenna, and Venice. The Eastern influences were strong in this Eastern Empire, but the inheritances of Greek and Roman civilization and the Christian religion counterbalanced them. The culture and religion thus formed are preserved in modern Russia, and fairly represent the Janus-like character of that nation, facing both East and West.

From a photograph © Publishers' Photo Service.

THE CHURCH OF SAINT SOPHIA AT CONSTANTINOPLE, THE MOST FAMOUS BYZANTINE MONUMENT IN THE WORLD.

Of the great personalities of this Eastern Empire, Constantine has already been mentioned, and the Emperor Jus-



9

INSTITUTIONUM
SEU
ELEMENTORUM D. JUSTINIANI
SACRATISSIMI PRINCIPIS,
PROOEMIUM.

De usu armorum, & legum. 1. de bellis & legibus Justiniani. 2. De compositione Codicis & Pandectarum. 3. De tempore, auctoribus, fine & utilitate eorum, ejusdem Institutionum. 4. Decem Institutionum. 5. Quid an Institutionibus contineatur. 6. Ex quibus libris compositæ sint Justi tiones, earumque recognitio & confirmatio. 7. Adhortatio ad studium Juris.

[1 IN NOMINE DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI. 3]

Imperator Cæsar, Flavius, JUSTINIANUS, Alamannicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus, pius, felix, inclytus, victor, ac triumphator, semper Augustus, cupiæ legum juventuti. [S. D.]

IMPERATORIAM majestatem non solum armis 4 decoratam 5 sed 6 etiam legibus oportet esse armatam 7: ut utrumque tempus 8 bellorum, & pacis, recte possit gubernari: & princeps Romanus non solum in hostilibus præliis victor existat, sed etiam per legitimos tramites 8 calumniantium 9 iniquitates expellat 10: & fiat 11 tam juris telegnosiffimus 12, quam victis hostibus triumphator [magnificus]. §. 1. Quorum utramque viam cum summis vigiliis, summaque providentia, annuente Deo, perfecimus. † Et bellicos quidem sudores nostros Barbaricæ gentes sub juga nostra redactæ cognoscunt: & tam Africa, quam aliæ innumeræ provinciæ, post 11 tanta temporum spatia, nostris victoriis à cœlesti nomine præstitis, iterum ditioni Romanæ, nostroque addita sunt imperio, protectantur. † Omnes vero populi legibus tam à nobis promulgatis, quam compositis, reguntur.

§. 2. Et cum facratissimas 14 constitutiones, antea confusas, in luculentam ex eximus contonantiam: tunc nostram extendimus curam ad immensa 15 veteris prudentiæ volumina: & opus deiperatum, quasi per medium profundum eontes, cœlesti favore jam adimplevimus. §. 3. Cumque hoc, Deo propitio, peractum est: Triboniano viro magnifico, Magistro 16, & Exquæstore facri palatii nostri, [& Exconsule 17] necnon Theophilo, & Dorotheo, viris illustribus, Antecessoribus 18 (quorum omnium solertiam, & legum scientiam, & circa nostras justiones fidem, jam ex multis rerum argumentis accepimus) convocatis, mandavimus specialiter, ut ipsi nostra auctoritate, nostrisque fussionibus *Institutiones* componerent: ut hereat vobis prima legum 19 cunabula 20 non ab 21 antiquis fabulis 22 discere, sed ab imperiali splendore appetere: & tam aures, quam animi vestri, nihil inutile, nihilque perperam positum, sed quod in ipsis 23 rerum obtinet argumentis, accipiant: & quod priore tempore 24 vix post quadriennium [prioribus] contingebat [ut tunc *Constitutiones* imperatorias legerent], hoc vos à primordio ingrediamini, digni tanto honore, tantaque 25 reperi felicitate, ut & initium vobis & finis legum eruditionis à voce principali procedat. §. 4. Igitur post libros 26 quinquaginta Digestorum, seu Pandectarum (in quibus omne jus antiquum collectum 27 est, quod per eundem virum excelsum, Triboniannum, nec non ceteros viros illustres, & facundissimos confectum) in quatuor libros easdem Institutiones partiti jussimus, ut sint totius legitimæ scientiæ prima elementa.

§. 5. In quibus breviter expositum est, & quod antea obtinebat, & quod 28 postea defuetudine inumbratum, imperiali remedio illuminatum est.

§. 6. Quas ex omnibus antiquorum Institutionibus, & præcipue ex commentariis Caji nostri, tam Institutionum, quam rerum quotidianarum, aliisque multis commentariis, compositas, cum tres viri prudentes prædicti nobis obtulerunt: & legimus, & recognovimus, & plenissimum nostrarum constitutionum robur eis accommodavimus 29. §. 7. Summa 30 itaque ope, & alacri studio has leges nostras accipite: & vosmetipsos sic eruditos ostendite, ut spes vos pulcherrima foveat, toto legitimo opere perfecto, posse etiam nostram Rempublicam in partibus ejus vobis credendis gubernari. D. CP. XI. Kal. Decemb. D. JUSTINIANO P.P. A. III. CONS. 533.

1 Hinc ἀρχὴ τῶν θείων νόμων, constitutio Institutionum confirmans. *Theoph.* 2 Perpetuo hic notandum, quod in textibus [1 nota in codicibus est, ad diem usque illum esse abstracta quam imperandi Historiam, aut aliis manuscriptis legebant. 3 Desit haec tota pars apud *Theoph. Græc.* Vet. & Cuiacium, & omnibus manuscript. Vide Cuiacium *lib. 14. observat. 24.* 5 L. Invocato nomine *divinæ majestatis* est de substantia Instrumenti, non conjecturalibus. Legumlatores. 6 Leges, quibus omnes tenentur. 7 Arma & leges. 8 Pax & bellum. 9 Calumniantes, qui scientes volentes delinquunt. *L. 10 ff. ad exhibend.* qui leges ipsas calumniose interpretantur. *L. 5. Cod. legib.* 10 Docendo, *l. 1. C. de dict. & pœnend. l. 13. ff. de pœnis.* 11 Expedita *jur. Ver.* 12 *Lib. 19 in fin ff. de legat. 2.* 13 Afric. post 55. annos. *l. 1. C. de off. præt. Afric. Procop.* Italia post 60. Cuiac. Hotoman. & Welseb. hic. Diff. Mynsinger. qui numerat annos 150 *ante.* 14 Priorem Codicem, qui hodie non exstat, intelligit. *Cuiac.* qui ex tribus libris conflabat, pura *Gregoriano, Hermogeniano & Theodosiano*, quem postea vocavit. *Constitutionum*, edit. Ann. 529. *Lupus. 2. Anf.* 15 nono. Secundo. *Theophil.* vetustum, vide *Cuiac. ad magnum Novellarum.* 16 Alias dicitur magister officiorum *l. 2. ff. de off. mag. offic.* Rufinus. 17 Alibi ab omnibus & *Theoph.* taceri existimat *Cuiac. l. 3. ff. de vet. jure enucl.* 18 *Antecessores* Græcis πρωτοσπαθάριοι Quæ vox Tertullano doctoribus accommodatur *l. 1. ff. de off. Quæst.* hic præcipuum significat. Hæc referri possunt variæ Jurisprudentiæ appellationes. Interdum enim Jurisprudentes, Conditores Juris, Legumlatores, Juris consulti, *Prudentes* vocantur & Juris studiosi dicuntur. *Goth. Al.* Antecessoribus. Ita & legendum *Cuiac.* 19 Quod in tria verfatur. *Tit. hic* 24 Vide *Cuiac. ad antec. ff.* 25 Al. repleti. 26 Confectos nondum tamen edidit. Anf. 27. Ἠνωμένα scilicet dicuntur, ὡς τὸ τῶν πάντων ἓν ἐκ πολλῶν συνάγεσθαι. quod omne jus in unum velut corpus collectum conjungat. 28 Hinc referri potest titulus *de lege Falcidia ad leges Julias. L. 6. ff. ne vis fiat ei, qui damnari.* 29 Ann. 534. 30 In Gallia. *Ita. 1. de erat. Pergite, ut facitis adolescentes, atque in id studium, in quo estis, incumbite, ut & vobis hanc, & amicis utilitati, & Reip. emolumento esse possitis.*

THE JUSTINIAN CODE.

From a later version of the original Latin.

tinian (527–565) remains to be described. The latter was a great conqueror and a great lawgiver. From Constantinople on the Bosporus he reassembled much of the ancient Roman

Empire, including the Vandal kingdom in North Africa together with parts of Italy and Spain. His empire fell apart, but his codification of Roman law has had an influence lasting to this day. Justinian had the air of a modern American executive by reason of his industry and democratic bearing. His wife, Theodora, was his adviser and helpmate and one of the greatest of empresses.

The Roman Empire of the East from 850 to 1050 led the world in commerce as in shipping. It endured precariously till 1453, when the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople. For these many centuries after Justinian it had resisted successfully the invasions of Persians, Arabs, and Seljuk Turks, thanks partly to the almost invulnerable site of Constantinople. Thus while the raw newcomers of western Europe were struggling upward, this ancient survivor of Greece and Rome did precious work for the continuity of European civilization. It shielded the Western peoples from Eastern attack. It preserved in its libraries much of the classical wisdom and its learned men became the teachers of all Europe at the dawn of the Renaissance in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

The cleavage between the eastern and western parts of Europe has been so deep that Western historians long did far less than justice to the Byzantine Empire. The religious separation between the Greek Church—as the Christianity of the Eastern Empire is commonly called—and the Roman Church has never been bridged. The racial differences are

By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN AND HIS CONSORT, THEODORA.

From a Byzantine mosaic in the Church of San Vitale, at Ravenna.

considerable. The historians of the nineteenth century treated the Eastern Empire with contempt, missing altogether the critical part which it played in the European story. There is no better place or period in which to study the fundamental unity of Europe while observing the modifications wrought by the East upon the border peoples.

Byzantine architecture clearly records these facts. It combines Greek and Roman elements with Oriental in a new style of great magnificence. The vast church of Saint Sophia at Constantinople—since 1453 a Turkish mosque—is the most famous Byzantine monument. The use of the dome upon a new scale and of mosaics to decorate the interior walls are its conspicuous features in Western eyes. By a profusion of mosaics a rich and dazzling effect was gained, splendid as decoration, weak in pictorial design. Byzantine art tended toward rigidity of form and lavishness of color, yet it is by no means alien to the European scene, as Saint Mark's at Venice and the cathedral of Saint Front at Périgueux in France bear witness.

It has been remarked that the schism between the Roman Church and the Greek Church arose over minor doctrinal disputes. The divergence was widened by the Iconoclasts or "image-breakers" of the eighth and ninth centuries and the result had much to do with cramping the development of Byzantine art. These reformers sought to exclude all relics, statues, pictures, and religious symbols, including the cross, from Christian churches, on the ground that they led to

idolatry. The dispute raged violently in the Eastern Church, and, while the Iconoclasts were ultimately defeated, they left an indelible mark upon their church. Statues were forbidden in the Greek Church, pictures were permitted in the final

From a photograph © Publishers' Photo Service.

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. FRONT AT PÉRIGUEUX, FRANCE.

compromise. Hence the Russian icon is a picture to-day. Even the cross does not appear in churches of the Eastern faith. The dispute touched the Roman Church lightly; while it forbade the worship of images it did not exclude them from churches. The final rupture between East and West came in 1054 as the result of a long accumulation of divergent dogmas. It is interesting to note that the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced an icono-

clastic spirit based on theories resembling those held in the Greek Church. But the strange compromise reached at Con-

From "Antiquities of the Russian Empire."

THE WONDER-WORKING IMAGE OF THE VLADIMIR VIRGIN, THE CHIEF ICON OF THE RUSSIAN STATE.

Brought from Constantinople to Vladimir in 1155, this icon is believed to have worked any number of miracles from the curing of the sick to the rescue of the country from the Tartars. The faces of the Madonna and Child are fragments of the early twelfth-century painting, while the rest of the icon is composed of gold and jewels left as offerings by the devout.

stantinople, permitting the lavish use of painted figures, provided only they were flat, had little kinship with the bare grandeur of Puritanism. The cleavage of the Christian

Church into the three main divisions, Greek, Roman, and Protestant, grew out of long controversies, and it is difficult for the historian to weigh the importance of doctrinal as against practical disputes or suggest how unity might be regained. The unmistakable fact is that for more than a thousand years the Roman Empire in the East, or the Greek Empire, or the Byzantine Empire, as it was variously called, developed a government, a faith, a church, an art, a civilization, distinct from the rest of Europe.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MIDDLE AGES

It is impossible to escape the use of the term Middle Ages. The phrase has come to mean the definite picture of a society as well as a list of events and institutions. Chosen by historians to express the bare fact that these centuries lie between the ancient world and the modern, mediæval has taken on a flavor all its own. For many the word expresses something akin to scorn for a supposed backwardness; as these centuries have often been pictured, it is quite natural that a modern man should feel more kinship with Greece than with the era of feudalism and scholasticism.

A reaction from this attitude is apparent in the historians of to-day. Were the phraseology of history fresh material to be moulded at will, there would be much to say for abandoning the term Middle Ages altogether and starting Modern Times at the end of the Dark Ages, around the year 1000.* So far as progress goes, the evolution of Western civilization is continuous from prehistoric times forward. As one centre of civilization has spent its force, another has come forward; the torch has been carried on by fresh runners as in a relay race. Dark periods have intervened as fresh waves of barbarians have overrun old peoples. Yet even through these

*There is an excellent statement of this point of view in "French Civilization," by Albert L. Guerard, pp. 129–130; also see the article on the Middle Ages in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th ed., vol. 18, p. 409, by James T. Shotwell.

times of turmoil and waiting ancient gains have been preserved beneath the surface. The Dark Ages of Europe just described halted progress for a time, but long before they were ended the advance was resumed. We can best approach the Middle Ages by thinking of them as the time when those forces of confusion had spent themselves and Europe once more was on its way. Based on stern mental and moral training, and inspired by high religious exaltation, they yielded an extraordinary flowering of character and great art. It was also the preparation for all that followed.

It seems best to use the familiar term and to endeavor to correct misapprehensions with regard to the period which it covers. There is ample justification for grouping these centuries together. They saw the perfecting of certain institutions. They possessed a character all their own. The effort will be to present that character in all its vivid traits and yet make clear how it grew out of the centuries that went before and made possible the centuries that followed after.

No period of time has been more distorted and misunderstood. Primarily that is because of the great religious schism in the sixteenth century known as the Reformation. Protestants have tended to think of the Middle Ages as the reign of Antichrist, and necessarily evil. In return, Roman Catholic writers have glorified the period as in the phrase "The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries."* Completely impartial his-

*The title of a highly suggestive volume by James J. Walsh, Catholic Summer School Press.

tories of this period, as of the Reformation, have yet to be written. As if religious polemic were not enough, the Middle Ages also suffered at the hands of the "humanists," the rediscoverers of the classics in the fifteenth century. The very term, Middle Ages, expressed their impatience with the centuries that stood between them and their precious Greek and Roman texts. In the same spirit of contempt the word Gothic was later applied to Mediæval Architecture, thereby fastening a complete misnomer upon one of the greatest of architectural periods, for barbarian Goths had nothing to do with the beautiful cathedrals of mediæval France, where the style originated. Lastly, when the age of science arrived in the eighteenth century, there was added the bitter contempt of the scientific mind for mediæval scholasticism. The value of that obsolete philosophizing as a mental discipline for the new Europe was lost sight of in resentment at its cramping effect upon free speculation. The extreme rationalist of to-day still vents his scorn upon the Middle Ages and all its works; but the tide of thought is away from him.

I. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The central fact of the Middle Ages was the Christian Church. It is difficult in this age of many sects and weakened faith to realize what its unity and supremacy meant to the men, women, and children of the time. The nearest modern parallel is citizenship in a nation. Just as to-day almost every one is a loyal citizen of the country where he lives, and the

exceptions, the anarchists, are regarded as dangerous people, so, then, membership in the one Church was practically universal, and heretics were dreaded and despised. Only in its

HENRY IV AT CANOSSA.

great moments, however, does the modern emotion of patriotism stir people as deeply as religion stirred the people of the Middle Ages. It was the great, controlling emotion of the era.

To complete the picture, anticipating somewhat the next section on feudalism, it is to be noted that there were no strong nations until toward the end of this time. Patriotism was a minor feeling. The chief loyalty, outside of the Church, ran to an individual—the lord from whom one held

one's land. There is much truth in the view that the Catholic Church was the real successor of the Roman Empire, and the Pope, rather than the Roman emperor, the true overlord of western Europe.

The early rise of the papacy and the division of the Church, East and West, have already been traced. In the

INNOCENT III AND GREGORY VII.
From seventeenth-century portraits in "Le Théatre D'Honneur."

reign of a great king and emperor like Charlemagne, the royal power prevailed over the papal power. Under the weak rulers that followed, the sway of the Pope gained rapidly. In the eleventh century Pope Gregory VII deposed and excommunicated—that is to say, cut off from the sacraments of the Church—an unruly German emperor, Henry IV, and the latter was obliged to cross the Alps in midwinter and appear as a humble suppliant before the Pope. For three days the emperor waited, a barefoot pilgrim, for the Pope's pardon. Canossa was the little town where the penance occurred,

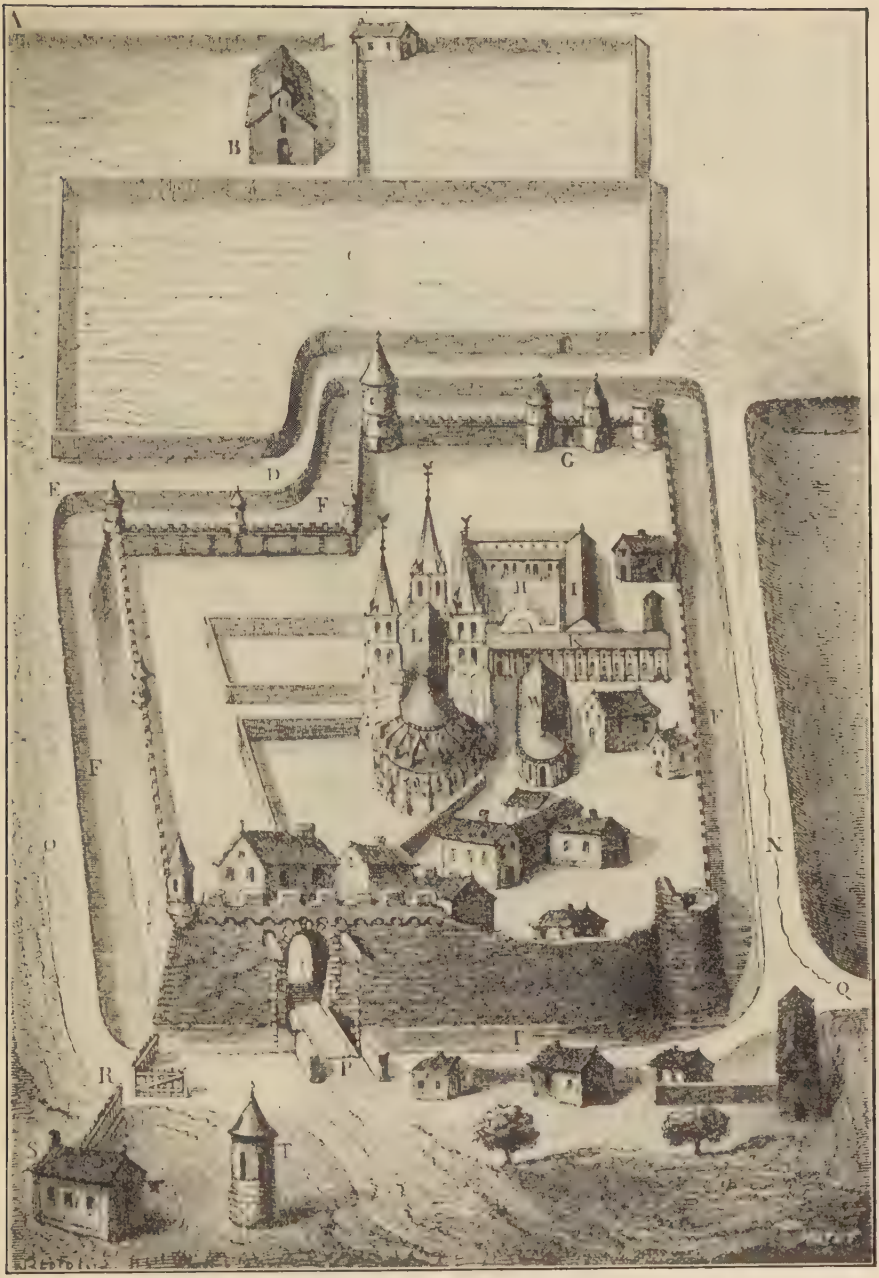
and "going to Canossa" has become a standing metaphor for such a submission. The episode became a dramatic symbol of the Church's victory in the great conflict of the Middle Ages between the religious and secular powers. The omnipotence

From Stuart's "Dress and Habits."

MONASTIC HABITS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

of the papacy was strongly asserted by Gregory VII, and in the thirteenth century by Innocent III, one of the greatest of the popes.

At its height, the mediæval Church was far more than a religious organization, such as the churches of to-day are. It performed many of the functions of the modern state. It levied a tax, a tithe or a tenth of a man's income, and many



From the "Histoire de Saint-Germain des Prés."

THE MONASTERY OF SAINT-GERMAIN DES PRÉS, AT PARIS, AS IT WAS IN 1361.

of its bishops and abbots ruled over vast landed estates that belonged to the Church in perpetuity. It developed a system of law, called the canon law, under which it tried many cases

DOMINICAN MONKS RECEIVING CHRIST AS A PILGRIM.
From the painting by Fra Angelico at the Convent of San Marco, Fiesole.

in its own courts, including all cases touching a clergyman, widows and orphans, marriage, wills, heresy, etc. Considered as a government, the Church was an absolute monarchy, for the Pope was its omnipotent lawmaker and its supreme judge. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that, unlike secular monarchies, the principle of inheritance applied neither to the Pope, the cardinals, the archbishops, bishops, nor

priests. The Pope was elected by the college of cardinals in Rome, and was often of poor and humble birth. The same democratic principle held true of all the clergy save where corruption crept in. Add the fact that throughout the Middle Ages few other than churchmen were really educated—if a man could read at all it was accepted as proof by some courts that he was a cleric—and it can be seen to what extent ability and intellect centred in the Church. Small wonder that it was by far the most powerful institution of the time.

Yet the papal dream of world-power faded swiftly after 1300. The popes called in the French to help them defeat the emperors and ended by themselves succumbing to the power of a French king and removing to Avignon in south-eastern France. For a time there were two or more rival popes anathematizing each other. The Church became the prey of schism and corruption. The great flowering of faith began to fade. Within two centuries (in the years following 1500), amid war and bloodshed, the seamless robe of the Christian Church was to be rent in twain.

The rise of the Church and of the papacy in this period was in large part due to the rise of the monks, and in particular to the Benedictines and the monks of the order of Cluny. Corruption was rampant in the clergy around the year 1000. The law of celibacy was flouted. The papacy was at a low ebb. A true reformation of religion began in the eleventh century. Something of the spirit of Christ's apostles was recaptured by the mendicant monks, who turned their backs

From a photograph © Ewing Galloway.

THE PAPAL PALACE AT AVIGNON, THE RESIDENCE OF THE POPES DURING THE GREAT SCHISM.
It is now used as a museum.

on the things of this world and vowed themselves to a life of poverty.

Saint Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan order, is a part of the Middle Ages that needs no preface to be

From a photograph © Detroit Publishing Co.

MONKS AT WORK IN THE SCRIPTORIUM OF THEIR MONASTERY.

From the painting by John W. Alexander in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

understood by modern minds. He is one of the most captivating figures of all time. To know him is to see into the heart of mediævalism, and thereby view with understanding both the immaturity of its intellect and the black shadows among its deeds.

He was born a rich man's son in Assisi, a little hill-town of Italy, in 1181 or 1182. As a youth he led in the revels and fought as a soldier. Captured and imprisoned, he fell ill, and, lying helpless, began to doubt his way of life. He returned to health and gaiety a changed man. One night he gave a banquet, and, crowned with garlands, king of the

revellers, marched forth with his friends into the town with torches, singing. He disappeared, and when his friends found him he was in a trance, communing with his Lord. From that hour he spent more and more of his time praying. He tried literally to live as Christ lived, renouncing his wealth, dressing in rags and begging from door to door. "Sell that thou hast and give to the poor and thou shalt have treasure in heaven" became the rule of his life. Yet he never turned recluse or gloomy ascetic. He was a devoted friend. He was always helping the poor and the sick. By nature joyous, he believed that his Lord wished his followers to be joyous. He went about singing, usually little French songs of his own making in praise of his Lord. He loved the visible world and all things in it. He preached his faith to the birds, he called the wind "brother," and walked lovingly amid grass and vines, stones and trees. His "Canticle of the Brother Sun" begins, "Most High, omnipotent, good Lord, thine is the praise, the glory, the honor and every benediction," and among its praises are these: "Be praised, my Lord, for Brother Fire, through whom thou dost illumine the night, and comely is he and glad and bold and strong," and "Be praised, my Lord, for Sister, Our Mother Earth, that doth cherish and keep us, and produces various fruits with colored flowers and the grass." A poet was Saint Francis as well as the most beautiful character of his time.

Such direct communion with God and rapturous love of Him is called mysticism. It has many forms, and is present

From a photograph by Alinari.

SAINT FRANCIS PREACHING TO THE BIRDS.

From the painting by Giotto.

in such different religions as Buddhism and the religion of the American negro, as his "spirituals," or hymns, bear witness. The mystic lays little stress on ritual or creed; Saint Francis viewed the religious debates of his time as of small value. It can be thought of as the pure emotion of most civilized religion before man's forms of worship and reasoning processes have converted it into an organized faith. There had always been a mystical element in Christianity. Traces of it are to be found in the Gospel of Saint John. The late Greek school of philosophy, the Neoplatonists, contributed more. Saint Augustine, in the fourth and fifth centuries, the greatest of the Church fathers, author of "The City of God," combined philosophical ability with strong mystical leanings. The Middle Ages saw the flowering of mysticism in Christianity. Something of the beauty of the faith of Saint Francis was wide-spread in the hearts of men in these centuries, and was the source of their noblest achievements.

But no church has ever existed for any length of time without ritual and creeds—a purely mystical faith would necessarily be restricted to those few who fell within the direct influence of one great leader. While Saint Francis scorned the quarrels over dogma and sought to go back to the simplest form of Christianity as found in Christ's own words, he could not escape the effects of Christian history. For example, he was clearly a follower of the Nicene Creed in his conception of Christ as the true son of God. So the searching debates upon dogma, which developed a system of

thought known as scholasticism, were of not less importance to Christianity than was the renaissance of religious fervor due to the monastic orders. Of greatest importance for the future, they were a marvellous mental discipline, a stern exercise in logic and directed thinking, which alone made possible the scientific mind of later years.

As has been seen, the intellectual life of the time centred in the clergy. Even more important, the Christian faith was an important concern of every one. How it sent thousands upon the Crusades and set whole communities to building great churches will be presently described. What more natural than that it held the minds of most thinkers to the task of developing rational thought in conformity with the doctrines of the Church? The modern scientific attitude, of observation and experiment, in the search of generalized laws, never occurred to such minds, since they started out with the passionate conviction that the revelations of God in the Scriptures and the creeds held all essential truth, and that the only problem of the rational mind was to reconcile the universe and the wisdom of the ancient pagans, of Aristotle, Plato, Pliny, of the Greek physicians, with the Christian scheme. Consequently, there was little natural science based on observation. Instead, the oldest and strangest myths were accepted, provided only they came from Christian sources or could be used to drive home an article of the Christian faith.

It is not to be thought, however, that all minds were of this type or that there was no interest in natural science. Re-

THE DEATH OF SAINT FRANCIS.

From the painting by Giotto in the Church of Santa Croce, Florence.

cent investigation has tended to revise older conceptions and to reveal a considerable amount of steady progress in science

SAINT AUGUSTINE.

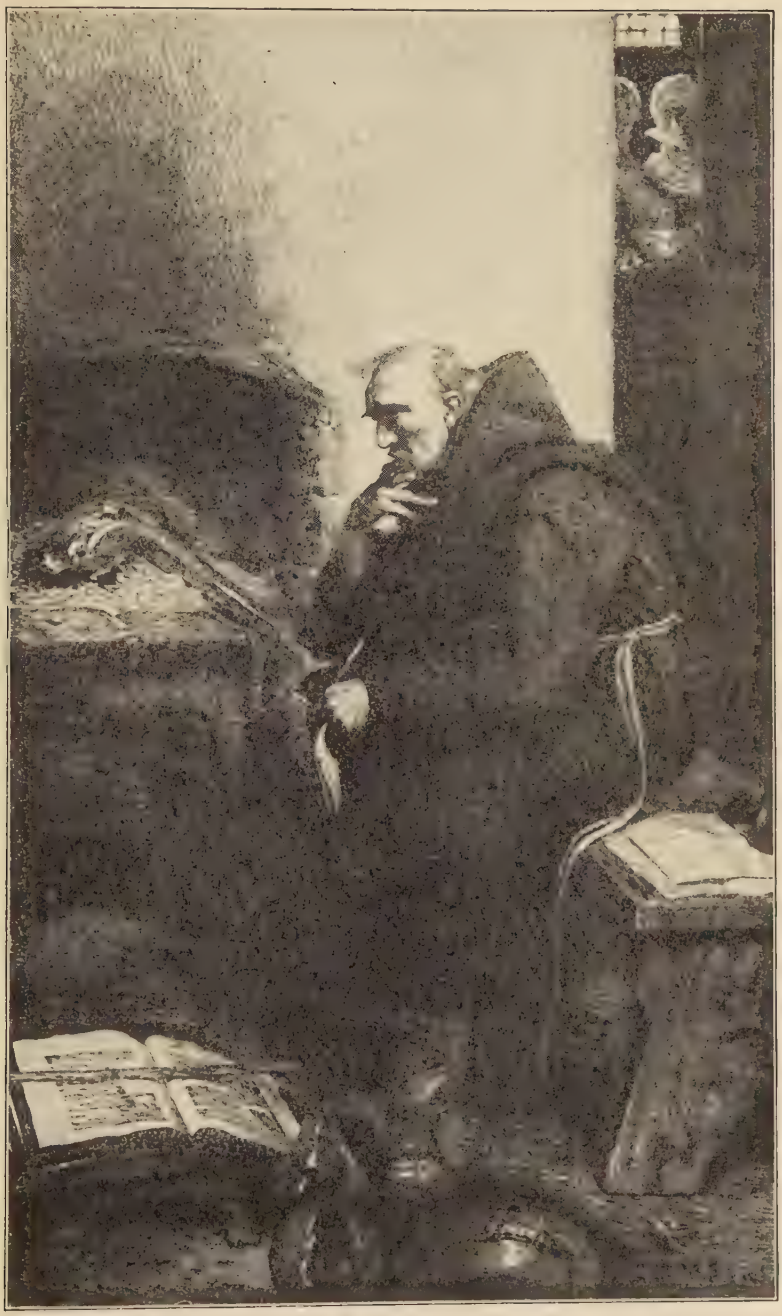
From an engraving by Crispin Van de Broeck in the works of Saint Augustine published by Christopher Plantin in 1577.

in the thirteenth century. There was much study of Aristotle's "Physics" and other scientific books. Small groups of men, at least at Oxford and at Paris, practised observation

and experiment. There was one investigator of extraordinary skill, industry, and imagination, Roger Bacon (1214?–

A MONASTICAL SCHOOL OF THE MIDDLE AGES.
From a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Burgundy Library, Brussels.

1294), an English monk, a Franciscan. His was an original mind, so far ahead of its time as to have little influence upon it. He protested against blind submission to authority and ex-



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ROGER BACON.

From an etching by W. H. W. Bicknell after a drawing by Howard Pyle.

claimed once in impatience that he wished all the translations of Aristotle could be burned so that truth might be tested by observation. (In his soberer moods he set great value on Aristotle's work.) He seems to have vaguely perceived the whole scope of scientific method. In optics, chemistry, and biology he apparently did important work. For his free-thinking he was imprisoned for a number of years. But his scientific leanings were even more seriously hampered by his own mediæval limitations. He is to be honored as a bold pioneer, how bold the following prediction records: "And flying-machines are possible, so that a man may sit in the middle turning some device by which artificial wings may beat the air in the manner of a flying bird." The older historians treated Bacon as an isolated exception. The current tendency is to view him as a man of genius, standing above his contemporaries, but clearly related to his time.

The rise of the universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries aided intellectual development by providing independent centres where learning was preserved and taught. Yet they were largely clerical and scholastic in outlook and free speculation was the rare exception. The two oldest, Bologna and Salerno in Italy, specialized, the one in law, the other in medicine. The fame of others, wider in scope, notably the great universities of Paris and Oxford, centred in the dialectics of theology. Arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music formed the "quadrivium," the group of studies that constituted a general education at a university. It was based

THE RECTOR OF PRAGUE UNIVERSITY WITH SCHOLARS FROM FOUR DIFFERENT NATIONS.

From an old picture at Prague University.

on the earlier study of the "trivium," grammar, rhetoric, and logic.

There were also, outside the orthodox university circles, the alchemists, the astrologers, and the magicians. The alchemists were the practical chemists of the Middle Ages,

THE LOUVRE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

The chateau was destroyed by Francis I. The present Louvre was built on this site by successive rulers.

From a miniature in the "Grandes Heures" of the Duke of Berry.

but they had scant conception of scientific method, and their chief preoccupation was an effort to transmute base metals into gold. This they sought to accomplish by finding a "philosopher's stone" which would effect the change. One lucky

A GERMAN ALCHEMIST.
From a wood-engraving attributed to Holbein.

guess they made in their basic theory of the unity of all matter which is not far from the new theories of the atom. But this theory was not reached by any scientific processes, and helped the arrival of science no more than did Roger Bacon's advocacy of experiment or his guess about flying-machines. True science was still barely on the way. Astrology, like alchemy, came to Europe through the Arabs of Spain. It caused observation of the heavenly bodies, and to this extent may be viewed as the remote ancestor of astronomy.

Magic was rife in the Middle Ages. An age that could believe in salamanders could believe in almost any myth touching evil spirits or tricks for harming an enemy or benefiting oneself. Of such beliefs was born the dread of witchcraft that was a wide-spread terror of the later Middle Ages and down through the eighteenth century. Thousands of supposed witches were tortured to make them confess, and either hanged or burned.

It was well on in the thirteenth century that the greatest of the schoolmen, Saint Thomas Aquinas, gave the complete and lasting statement of scholasticism. He was the Aristotle of the Middle Ages, and his philosophy is still the accepted philosophy of the Roman Catholic Church. This fact in itself is strong evidence that the schoolmen were not arguing about unessentials. Toward the end their debates did sometimes fall into highly technical channels; the discussion, often cited, as to how many angels could dance on the point of a needle was typical of this tendency. (Possibly some of the present-day dissertations of doctors of philosophy in our universities will seem equally absurd 500 years hence.) But scholasticism was largely concerned with the fundamentals of human thought. It is impossible to have a religion without some agreement as to what is behind it. There can be a great deal of dogma in a creed or only a few basic ideas; the great debate of the scholastics revolved around one of the basic ideas underlying all religion. This was the famous dispute between Nominalism and Realism. As used at that time,

THE GIRALDA AT SEVILLE, ERECTED BY THE MOORS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY, AND USED BY THEM AS AN ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATORY.

Realism meant just the opposite of what the term suggests to modern minds. The theory viewed ideas as the great realities moulding and transcending the visible world; Nominalism looked in the direction of modern materialism. Both

SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS AT THE COUNCIL OF ANAGNI.

At this gathering of prelates and doctors Saint Thomas successfully defended the attack upon the monastic orders made by the University of Paris. Pope Alexander IV presides over the meeting, with Saint Thomas and three other scholars seated on the floor at his feet.

From a painting in the Louvre by Benozzo Gozzoli.

schools of thought used the language of the Christian faith, and the controversy centred around the specific question whether a general idea, "man," for instance, has an existence apart from the mind thinking it. The Realists contended that these general ideas—"universals" in mediæval language—did have a separate existence. The Nominalists argued that they had not. The two points of view represent the two great

tendencies of religious and philosophical thought. Under different names and centred about different problems of the mind, they are just as important to-day as ever, and the world is no nearer an agreement than when the schoolmen debated the issue for three long centuries. Both because of its general tendency and because of its bearing on certain dogmas, Realism became finally the accepted doctrine of the Church, and it was a form of Realism that Thomas Aquinas embodied in his great system of scholastic thought.

The flowering of Christianity inspired the people of the Middle Ages to two great enterprises: the Crusades and the building of the cathedrals. There was probably never a more picturesque or stirring time in which to live. A town like Chartres in the twelfth century saw knights buckling on their armor to leave for a new crusade, farmers with their oxen dragging great stones to rest in the walls of the vast cathedral, stone-masons carving statues of a Greek beauty for the niches, glass-workers setting in place the richly colored windows that rank among the most beautiful works of man. At their best, both crusades and cathedrals represented the outpouring of a noble spirit of devotion and sacrifice, and expressed a spiritual yearning as strong and pure as the rapture of Saint Francis. But the Crusades held many black contrasts. In their mingling of high aims and selfish squabbling, of saints and robbers, of heroic bravery, of wicked cruelty, of famine, pestilence, and disaster, they were typical of the whole era that gave them birth.

From a photograph © Ewing Galloway.

CAVES NEAR LAKE CONSTANCE BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN CHISELLED OUT BY MONKS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

There were seven major crusades lasting through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There were countless other minor expeditions. All had for object the rescue of the Holy

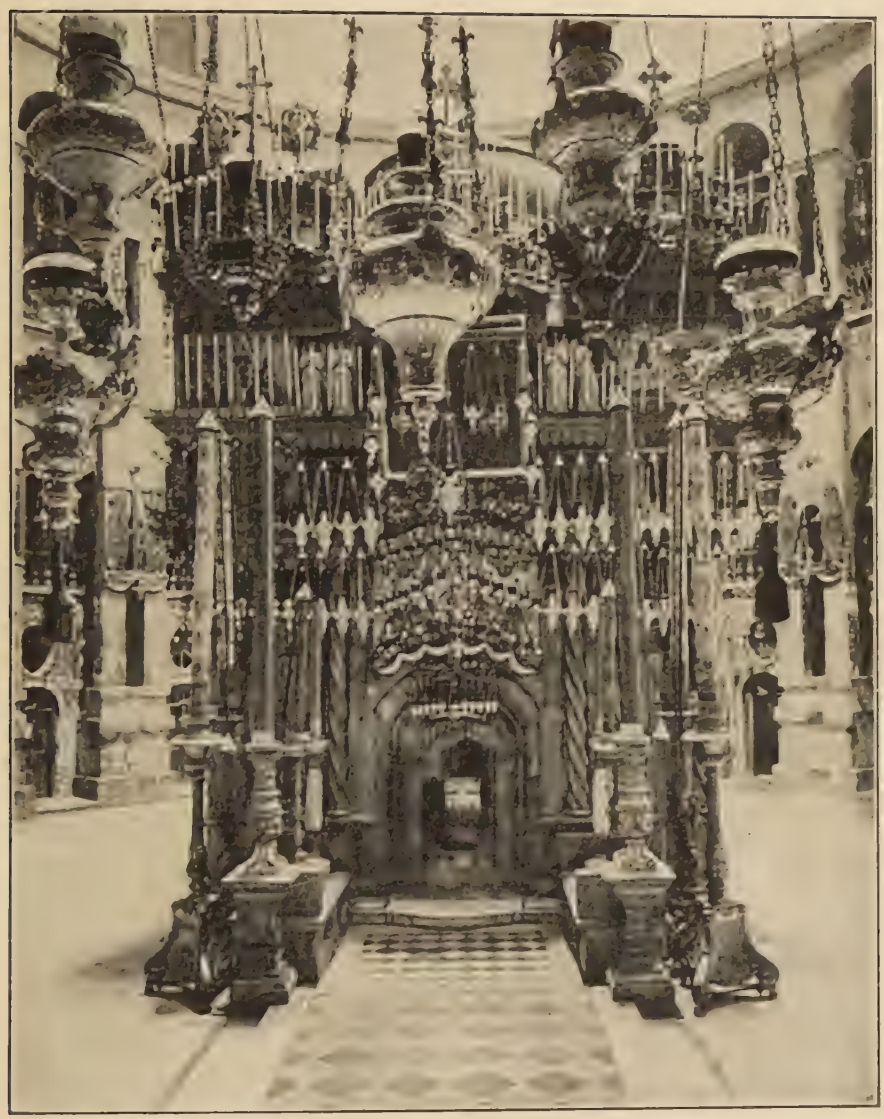
A SWORD-MAKER AND AN ARMORER PREPARING EQUIPMENT FOR THE CRUSADERS.

From early woodcuts.

Land from the Turks, who had driven out the Arabs in the eleventh century. The Arabs had not interfered with Christians making a pilgrimage to their holy city, Jerusalem; the Turks made the way difficult. A great speech by Pope Urban II fired the enthusiasm for the first crusade. A wandering preacher, Peter the Hermit, took up the cry, "Deus vult" ("God wills it"), and led the first host eastward. It was a motley army of peasants and it failed miserably. Part perished in Hungary, part in Bulgaria, part in Asia Minor at

PETER THE HERMIT PREACHING THE FIRST CRUSADE.
From an engraving by Gustave Doré.

the hands of the Turks. The main forces, composed largely of knights and led by French and Norman princes, were successful. They conquered Jerusalem, slaughtered the inhabitants by the thousands, and set up a kingdom there that lasted



From a photograph © Ewing Galloway.

THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, JERUSALEM.

nearly a century. Already in this first crusade, the thirst of the leaders for conquered territory started quarrels that jeopardized the success of the expedition. The rule established

POPE URBAN II MAKES HIS GREAT SPEECH AT THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT, CALLING THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLES TO THE FIRST CRUSADE FOR THE DELIVERANCE OF THE HOLY LAND.

From a wood-engraving in "Le Grand Voyage de Hiérusalem," printed in 1522.

was far from secure and soon in danger. Hardly a year went by without some crusaders starting off to the rescue of the Holy Land. A great Syrian ruler, Saladin, a Mohammedan fierce in battle, kind of heart, and a man of honor, captured Jerusalem in 1187. The third crusade set out under Richard the Lion-Hearted (Richard I of England), Philip Augustus

of France, and the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, to regain the city. It failed despite the fierce bravery of Richard. One of the noblest figures to take the Cross was Louis IX of France, called Saint Louis. He was a true Christian knight, of heroic stature, at once a sturdy fighter and an ascetic and devout believer. He made two crusades, both failures. In fact, the crusaders never regained Jerusalem by force of arms. As a grim commentary upon the degeneration of the holy expeditions, success came only through the diplomatic wiles of a German emperor, Frederick II. This odd ruler, of mean appearance but great ability, a strange heir to the Roman throne, was always quarrelling with the popes, and he was under a ban of excommunication when he set out upon his crusade. He had organized the kingdom of Sicily with great tact and he approached the Holy Land with the same ingenuity. Without striking a blow, he secured a treaty from the Sultan of Egypt turning over the Holy Land. For fifteen years it remained in Christian hands, and then, in 1244, was lost, not to be recovered until British troops in the World War fought their way once more into Jerusalem.

The Crusades began as a glorious and noble adventure. That spirit held true for many crusaders throughout. But there went along from the start a host of self-seeking adventurers and plain vagabonds, highwaymen, and cutthroats, who wanted only riches and excitement. In addition, the commercial aims of Italian traders and the practical colonial aims of princes gave a business flavor to the crusader that increased with the years.

© *John Swain & Son, Ltd.*

RICHARD THE LION-HEARTED LEAVES ENGLAND WITH AN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TO RECOVER JERUSALEM FROM THE SARACENS, 1189 A. D.

From a painting by Glyn Philpot, R. A., by courtesy of Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd.

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

ELABORATE AND COSTLY BOOK-COVERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

(*Left*) A book-cover with an ivory crucifixion framed in enamel.
(*Right*) A gold book-cover ornamented with the figures of the saints in enamel.

The results of the Crusades are not easy to estimate. Modern historians have tended to minimize them, holding that the influence of the East came to the West chiefly through

SAINT BERNARD'S CROSS AND CANDLESTICKS.

the Arabs of Spain or Sicily. But the Crusades did open up new trade routes to the East and led to the discovery of Asia by European travellers. Marco Polo wrote his famous book of travels, across Asia to China, around the year 1300. There

was a wider horizon for the many crusaders, who came in contact with a new civilization, and a vast continent for the bolder explorers. The Crusades were a stimulating and enlightening experience for western Europe. They failed tragically in their one aim—the Turk was encamped on the shores of the Bosporus when the last crusade ended, and within a century and a half he was to conquer Constantinople and enter Europe as far as the Danube. It has often been said that the Crusades threw back the Eastern drive. But the crusaders quarrelled with the emperors at Constantinople and weakened their rule, and it was upon these Eastern successors of the Roman emperors that the brunt of the Eastern attack finally fell.

It is in the light of the Crusades that are to be read the tragic stories of the persecution of heretics at home. Saint Bernard, one of the noblest churchmen of his time, urged recruits for the second crusade in this language: "The Christian who slays the unbeliever in the Holy War is sure of his reward, the more sure if he himself be slain. The Christian glories in the death of the infidel, because Christ is glorified." In our modern times of confused and weakened faiths, it is difficult to comprehend the spirit behind such bloodthirsty words. It is necessary to conceive the surging religious faith inspiring the sentiment to do it justice. Toleration is much easier when one has scant confidence in his own faith and little loyalty to it. As was suggested before, the modern attitude toward an anarchist as a traitor to his country is a

The Duomo at Pisa, Italy.

The Baptistry of Saint Jean at Poitiers, France.

TWO EXAMPLES OF ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE.

faint parallel to the mediæval attitude toward a heretic at home or abroad. The wholesale slaughter of heretics in southern France stained the records of the Middle Ages. The Waldensians were believers in the simple faith of the gospels. The Albigensians were complete heretics, rejecting Christianity for one of its early rivals, a descendant of the ancient Persian religion of Zoroaster. The latter were suppressed in the reign of Pope Innocent III with a ferocity that slaughtered tens of thousands. As a sequel the Inquisition was invented, a system of church courts designed to discover heretics and turn those who were unrepentant over to the state to be burned alive. Torture was used, as in other courts, to obtain confessions, and especially in Spain the Inquisition became an instrument of secret accusation, injustice, oppression, and extreme cruelty.

If the Inquisition was the blackest achievement of the Middle Ages, the cathedrals were the fairest. A period that left nothing else could still deserve to stand with the greatest of creative eras. The ranking of different works of art cannot pretend to exactness, but in that small list of supreme achievements to which the Parthenon belongs, common consent would add such cathedrals as Rheims and Chartres. The mediæval surge of religious feeling scarcely requires any other proof than the existence of these vast and beautiful buildings. Whole communities labored in their rearing. Every sort of workman lent a hand, from the farmers with their teams and the stone-masons to the goldsmiths, the glass-workers,

and the organ-builders. Every art was lavished upon these houses of God. One can fairly feel the great revival of religion bursting forth in these superb monuments. Never was an architecture more youthful, more original, more completely sprung from the soil. In the Dark Ages, there developed in France what is called the Romanesque style. It was the old Roman architecture, with its round arches, small windows, and heavy walls, adapted to Christian use. Its effect was sombre and severe. The new style, misnamed Gothic, developed swiftly in the twelfth century in the region around Paris. The pointed arch is one of its invariable marks, and is often treated as if it were its essential feature. Rather is the arch to be thought of as an incident in a system of design by which the walls were pierced with great windows, and the eye carried aloft to new and soaring heights of nave and steeple. Chief of inventions was the flying buttress by which the side thrust of a roof was met not by sheer weight of wall or pillar but by these stone props. Higher and higher soared these religious skyscrapers, more and more delicate became the buttresses, richer and more ornate was carved the sculpture. The decoration of the cathedral, its windows and its sculpture, made of it a huge story-book, an encyclopædia of Christian learning and anecdote.* The thirteenth century saw the perfection of Gothic art. Thereafter the carving be-

*Victor Hugo was misled by some grotesque carvings on Notre Dame into the notion that the spirit of the mediæval cathedrals was democratic and to a considerable extent irreligious and anticlerical in its origin. This view is considered an error by current authorities. The cathedrals were community efforts, but the leadership was always in the clergy, and the inspiration was faith.

From a photograph © A. C. Champagne, Paris.

RHEIMS CATHEDRAL.

From a photograph © Publishers' Photo Service.

THE CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME, PARIS.

A view from the River Seine, showing the flying buttresses of the east end.

From a photograph by Levasseur.

THE TOWN AND CATHEDRAL OF CHARTRES.

came over-elaborate, and, as always when inspiration weakens, a marvellous technic replaced the old sincerity. The decline of the mediæval faith was mirrored in its cathedrals quite as clearly as was its rise. At its best the sculpture of the Middle Ages (the "Beau Dieu" at Amiens, for instance) possesses a serene beauty that suggests the greatest of Greek statuary.

The Middle Ages produced, in addition to scholastic arguments, a great mass of hymns, romances, fables, chronicles, epics, and other writings, but little literature of the first rank. The troubadours in the south of France and the minnesingers of Germany made lovely lyrics. Miracle-plays about the lives of the saints and the Virgin, and mysteries, based on the Bible stories, were the rude beginnings of modern drama. Were the era not a stimulating one, it would seem strange that in Italy there should have arisen one great and unique poet, who is by common consent ranked with Shakespeare among the few universal writers. Like the cathedrals, Dante was the peculiar product of the Middle Ages, and his works are their complete expression. It would be difficult to overstate the greatness of Dante's nature; he was a learned scholar, a student and practitioner of politics, a noble and imaginative poet. His life lies on either side of the year 1300, and the action of the "Divine Comedy," his greatest poem, an epic of man's life, death, and salvation through Christianity, is laid in that year. There were precursors in poetic form and in thought, but he stands a lone genius of

his art and time. He wrote not in Latin, as did the clergy, but in the vernacular of his country, the newly formed Italian, a descendant of Latin simplified by barbarian tongues and enriched with Teutonic roots.

2. FEUDALISM AND THE RISE OF THE NATIONS

The Teutonic barbarians swept away the unified organization of the Roman Empire, and put a large number of small fighting tribes in its place. Charlemagne attempted to weld these petty groups, almost patriarchal in their character, into an empire. He succeeded by main strength; but at his death the empire broke into its warring parts. There then developed the strange form of government known as feudalism. It grew naturally enough out of the terrible confusion of the Dark Ages and the failure of the empire to bring order and security. But such a failure of centralization is unusual in history. Japan and India furnish the only other important examples. Feudalism can perhaps best be thought of as a case of arrested development, caused by a deadlock between opposing forces, a conflict between the principles of patriarchal society and those of a political state in which neither was victorious.* Had a strong Frankish Empire been permanently established, there might have been no feudal system, and western Europe might conceivably have outgrown her divergences of blood and language and be one nation to-day. Instead, the facts of disunion were crystallized;

*Jenks, "The State and the Nation," p. 136.

From a photograph by Anderson.

DANTE.

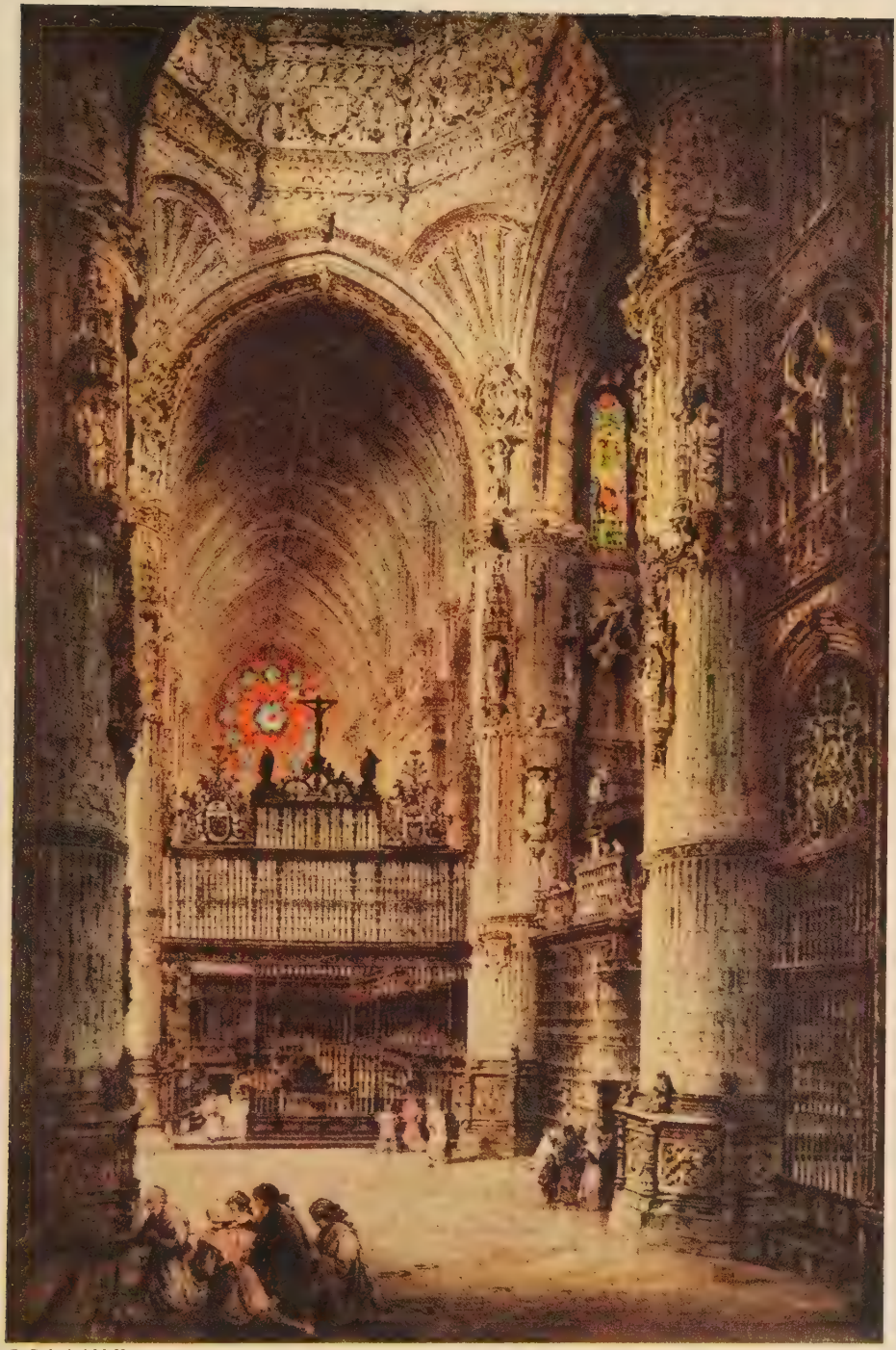
From the painting by Giotto.

the confusion of the Dark Ages was organized into a stable system. When the political state finally gained the upper hand, Europe was not one state but many states, of different customs and languages. Thus the importance of feudalism in the development of Europe is very great. Its whole structure has vanished, its customs, even its phraseology, seem remote to modern minds. Its influence has been and is enormous. It has been idealized, held up as the best form of government; it has been damned as the worst. Feudalism unquestionably preserved and intensified certain old traits of character and habits of mind. Those who admire feudalism rate these characteristics as virtues, and all-important virtues. Those who condemn feudalism consider these traits vices, or at best of small importance, and insufficient to counterbalance the undoubted evils of the system. Among these traits are personal loyalty, obedience to landed authority, attachment to locality, and a generally conservative outlook.

Feudalism developed gradually in the Dark Ages. Within certain broad limits it followed the same course throughout western Europe. But it was always changing, was at widely different stages in different regions, and was never a uniform system. Certain grave divergences produced profound and permanent effects upon the history of France, England, and Germany. It is impossible to describe it in detail. The most that can be done is to trace its origin, present its completed form, and suggest its main contrasts with the modern state.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the turmoil of the

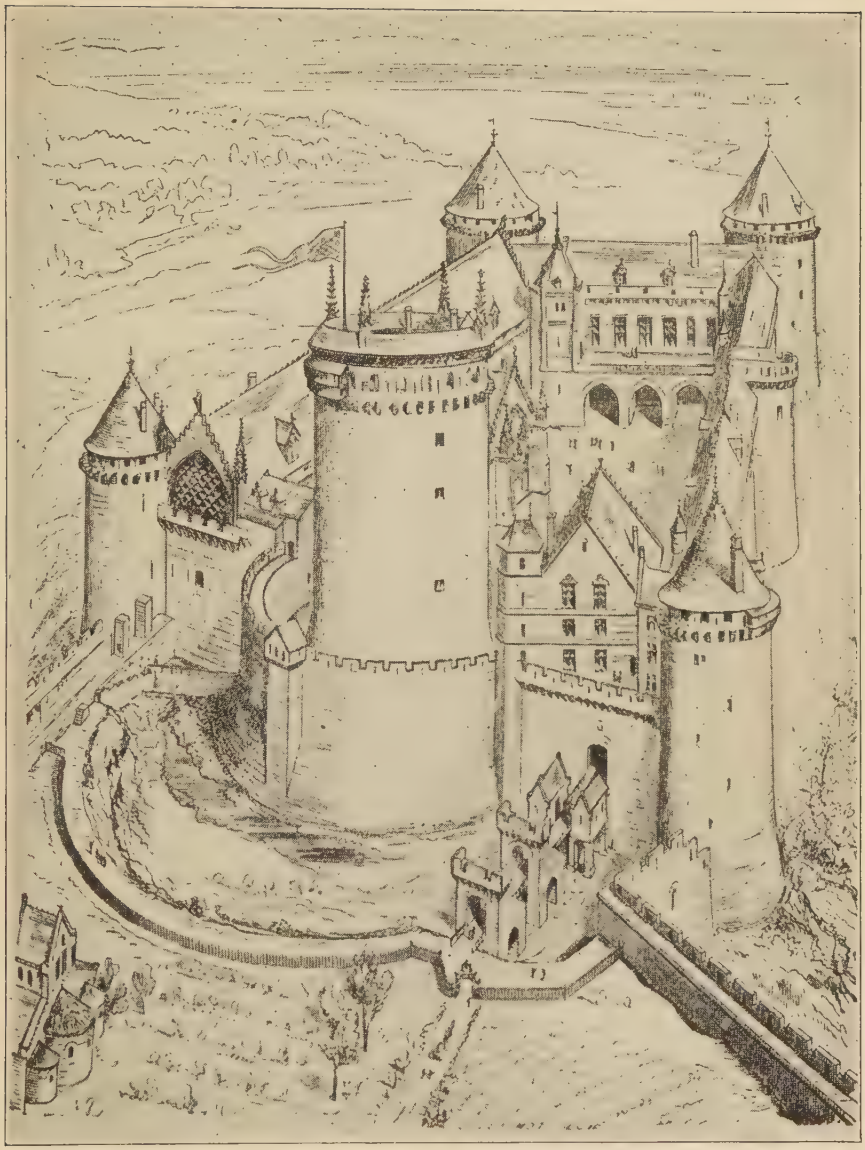
Dark Ages. Down through the Middle Ages, fighting seemed almost the natural state of man. Church councils proclaimed the famous Truce of God in no hope of ending war but to secure a "closed season" of peace, so to speak. The truce forbade fighting during Lent, on holy days, and from Thursday to Sunday in every week. This left only three days for warfare, and the truce does not appear to have been very well observed. There was for a long while no national authority with an army to put down disorder. There was no police system. These conditions gave the landed proprietor his chance. He alone could organize a fighting body for offense and defense. He alone could build a walled castle within which the surrounding peasants could take refuge when the invader came. Partly he gained his great estate by grant from the king, partly he gained it by voluntary or forced surrender of the small landowner who gave up ownership of his acres in return for protection. In either case, he held it by force of arms. Such a great landowner, a baron, for example, was far more than a mere landlord. Within his territory he controlled the courts, put down rebellion, collected taxes, coined money; in fact, did all the things that a modern state does. At the height of the feudal system, before the rise of national government, these great lords were practically supreme in their estates. All they owed to the king were certain feudal duties, the chief of which was to respond at call with a certain number of fighting men. Whether they responded or not depended on the vigor and power of the monarch reigning.



© *Reinthal & Newman.*

INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL AT BURGOS, SPAIN.

Founded in 1221 by the Bishop Maurice on his return from Paris, the cathedral is one of the finest existing examples of Gothic architecture.



From "Le Dictionnaire Raisonné."

THE CHATEAU OF COUCY, A TYPICAL CASTLE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

Theoretically there was a perfect hierarchy in the feudal system. The great nobles, the dukes, counts and viscounts, and the bishops and abbots of the Church held their land from the king; they were his vassals and took an oath of loy-

A MEDIÆVAL GAME OF CHESS.

alty to him. Most of their land was, in turn, held by lesser nobles, barons, knights, and squires, who were their vassals. At the bottom were freemen and serfs, who held their land from the nobles. Most of the peasants in the Middle Ages were serfs, bound to a particular piece of land, as a rule, from

generation to generation, yet in a much better condition than slaves, for they could not be sold or otherwise treated as the property of their lord. (Slavery had disappeared, save in the case of domestic servants, by the Middle Ages.) But this

A MEDIÆVAL QUEEN WEAVING A TAPESTRY, WITH TWO OF HER DAMSELS CARDING WOOL AND SPINNING IT INTO THREAD FOR HER USE.

hierarchy was seldom achieved. It was confused by countless exceptions, immunities, and cross-holdings. By the time the experts had set down the complete theory in books, the whole system was being undermined by the use of the royal power.

A sharp cleavage ran between nobles and non-nobles. The former were the fighting class; even the squire, at the foot,

had his horse and coat of mail. Artisans and peasants did the work of the world. The relation of lord and vassal existed only within the noble class. It was a relation of mutual honor and trust. When the vassal received his fief, which was to say

A VASSAL RECEIVING HIS FIEF.
Raymond de Montdragon pledging himself to his lord, the Archbishop of Arles.
From a thirteenth-century seal in the National Archives of France.

his grant of land, he knelt before his lord, placed his hands within his lord's hands, and pledged himself to be his lord's man for the fief he held. Then the lord bade him rise, kissed him, and the vassal took the oath of fidelity, upon the gospels, or the relics of a saint. The obligations thus taken by the vassal were to fight, usually for a certain number of days and

bringing a certain number of followers, to help the lord sit in judgment, and upon certain extraordinary occasions to pay donations—when the lord had to be ransomed from captivity

TABLE SERVICE OF A LADY OF QUALITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.
From a fifteenth-century manuscript, entitled "The Romance of Renaud de Montaubon."

and when his eldest son was knighted or his eldest daughter married, for example. In return, the obligation of the lord was to protect his vassal. By the time the feudal system was in full force, the hereditary principle was firmly established among the nobility. That is to say, the title always descended to the eldest son, and the fief as well descended to him. Thus while technical ownership of the land remained in the lord,

From a photograph © Curtis and Cameron.

THE OATH OF KNIGHTHOOD.

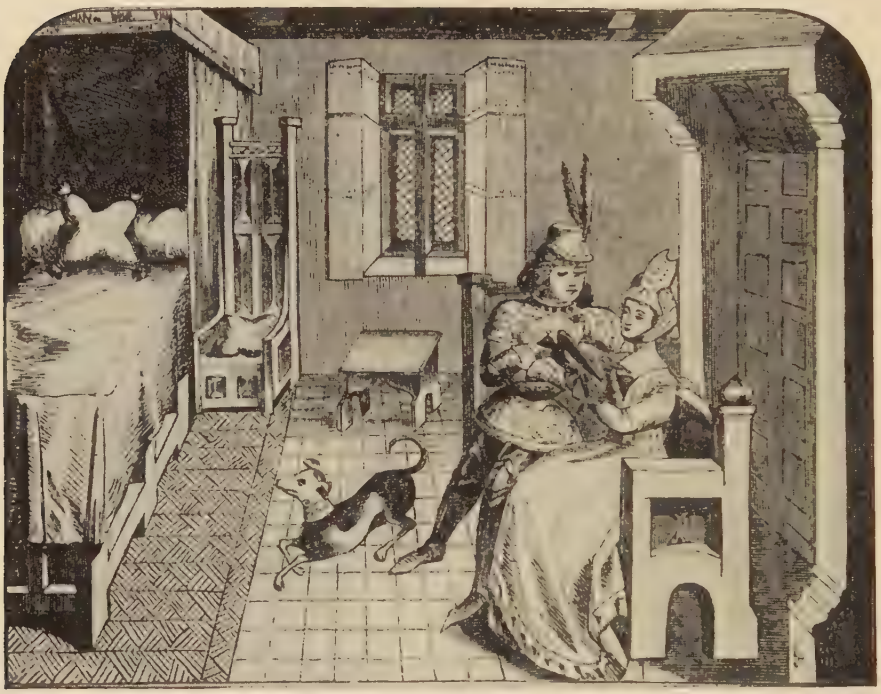
From the painting in the Boston Public Library by Edwin Austin Abbey.

SERFS RECEIVING THEIR LORD'S ORDERS BEFORE GOING TO WORK.
From a fifteenth-century manuscript entitled "Le Propriétaire des Choses."

and the fact was sometimes to his advantage, the vassal had all the ordinary rights of modern ownership.

Not only was all the work done by the freemen and serfs, but they paid the bulk of the taxes as well. There was an annual levy on each serf, a head-tax; there was a further right

to collect an additional tax almost at the owner's pleasure; and the serf was bound to perform a certain number of days' work for the repair of roads or tilling the lord's own land. The freemen paid rent and a number of other dues—to pay



A MEDIÆVAL BEDROOM.

for grinding his grain at the lord's mill, and so on. One important gain for the freemen and serfs was the right of inheritance. By the time of the Middle Ages the land held by a non-noble descended to his eldest son exactly as the fief of the noble descended to his eldest son. The actual condition of the peasants in the Middle Ages has been much disputed.

They certainly had very few rights or protections. They were largely at the mercy of the nobility. But whether they were as badly off as the slum-dwellers of a modern city is doubtful. Such comparisons are most difficult to make.

To sum up the chief characteristics of the system: it centred about a holding of land and was essentially the product of an agricultural region; it involved a rigid and hereditary class system by which a very small number of nobles and their descendants did the fighting and a very large number of peasants did the work; personal loyalty was at the heart of the system as in any patriarchal fighting community; the small principalities strengthened local customs and local attachment. The democratic rule in the Church made an important exception to the class system. By becoming a cleric, the poorest peasant boy could become a great and powerful bishop, abbot, cardinal, or pope.

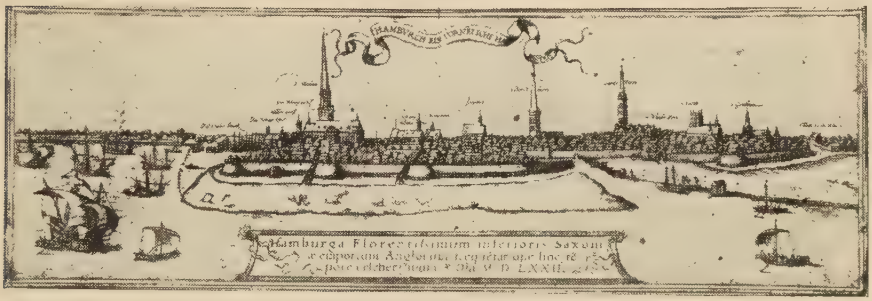
Already at the height of the Middle Ages, in the twelfth century, feudalism was undermined and doomed. Several causes contributed. The growth of the towns was one. These developed rapidly and tended to become independent of feudal obligations. The feudal system had no real place for the industrial population of a large town. To protect themselves, the artisans in each particular trade began to form guilds, of goldsmiths, weavers, cobblers, butchers, and so on. At their best, these mediæval guilds gave an admirable system of production. A youth began as an apprentice and spent a number of years learning the trade from a master, the most skilled of

the workers. The ordinary workmen were called journeymen. The training was thorough, the standard of work high; a workman knew every part of his trade and turned out a com-

COUNTRY LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.
From an early print.

pleted article. Unfortunately, the guilds tended toward selfish monopoly, the position of master became almost hereditary, and the old free spirit of the guild disappeared. The great rise of commerce due to the Crusades and the bringing of luxuries from the East also fostered the towns. There were merchants' guilds, of great wealth and power.

The towns of Italy, where feudalism had never gained a strong hold, were among the first to rise to power and freedom. Trade was their chief source of wealth, and the manufacture of jewelry and fabrics of wool and silk the next. In the fourteenth century Venice had a merchant fleet of 3,000



THE HANSEATIC CITY OF HAMBURG.
From a sixteenth-century woodcut in "Civitatis Orbis Terrarum."

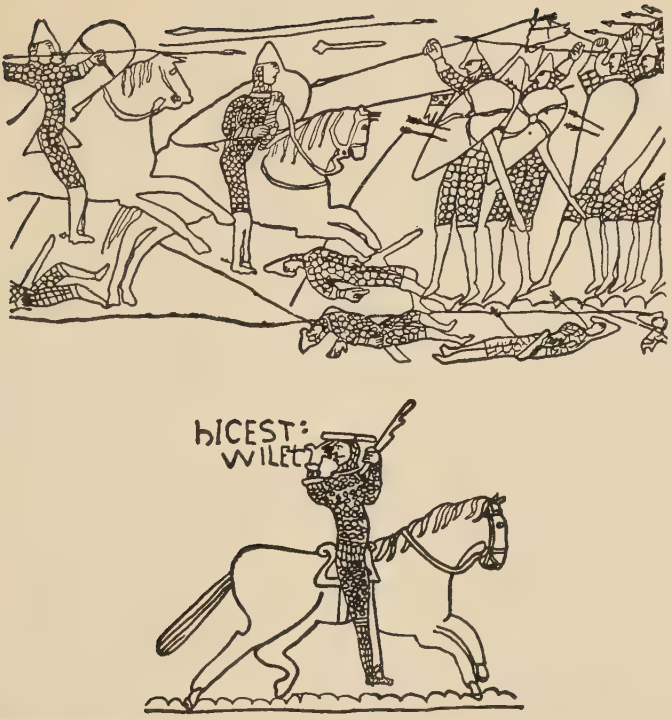
vessels. A second famous group of trading towns formed the Hanseatic League in northern Germany. By 1300 there were seventy cities in the league, including such famous places as Hamburg, Cologne, and Bruges in Flanders.

But the chief enemy of the feudal system was the king and the nation which he sought to hold together and strengthen. It will be simplest to trace the rise of each nation separately.

The turning-point in England was the familiar date of 1066 when William the Conqueror, then duke of Normandy, crossed the Channel, won the battle of Hastings, and had himself crowned king. This brought a new and vigorous breed of men to the head of English affairs. They were

Norsemen fused with Frankish blood, speaking the tongue of the Franks and steeped in Frankish civilization. They were in turn absorbed by the larger native population, but not without markedly influencing the language, character, and history of the English people.

On the purely racial side they did not bring a strain of blood very different from the rest of the Teutonic tribes that had been overrunning England since the fifth century. They left the population of the islands as they found it, a thorough mixture of the three main strains of man in western Europe: Mediterranean, Alpine or Celtic, and Nordic, the last preponderating. The English language happens correctly to reflect this fusion of North and South and the leadership of the North. It was based on the Teutonic dialect spoken by the Angles and Saxons who conquered England—often called Anglo-Saxon, though many modern philologists prefer the term Old English. (The older languages of the Celts were driven to the far corners of the islands, where they survived to modern times as Gaelic in Scotland and Ireland, Welsh in Wales, Cornish in Cornwall. Breton, the language of Brittany, in northwestern France, is another Celtic tongue that has survived to this day.) This early tongue was completely transformed in the Middle Ages. Many of the words were lost. The survivals, however, include the bulk of ordinary speech. The Norman invasion greatly enriched the tongue, adding a great number of French words. The structure of the language and its core, so to speak, remained northern.



THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

(*Above*) The battle waxes hot between the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans.
(*Centre*) William rides among his troops, urging them on to victory.
(*Bottom*) King Harold of England is killed, and the Anglo-Saxons retreat.

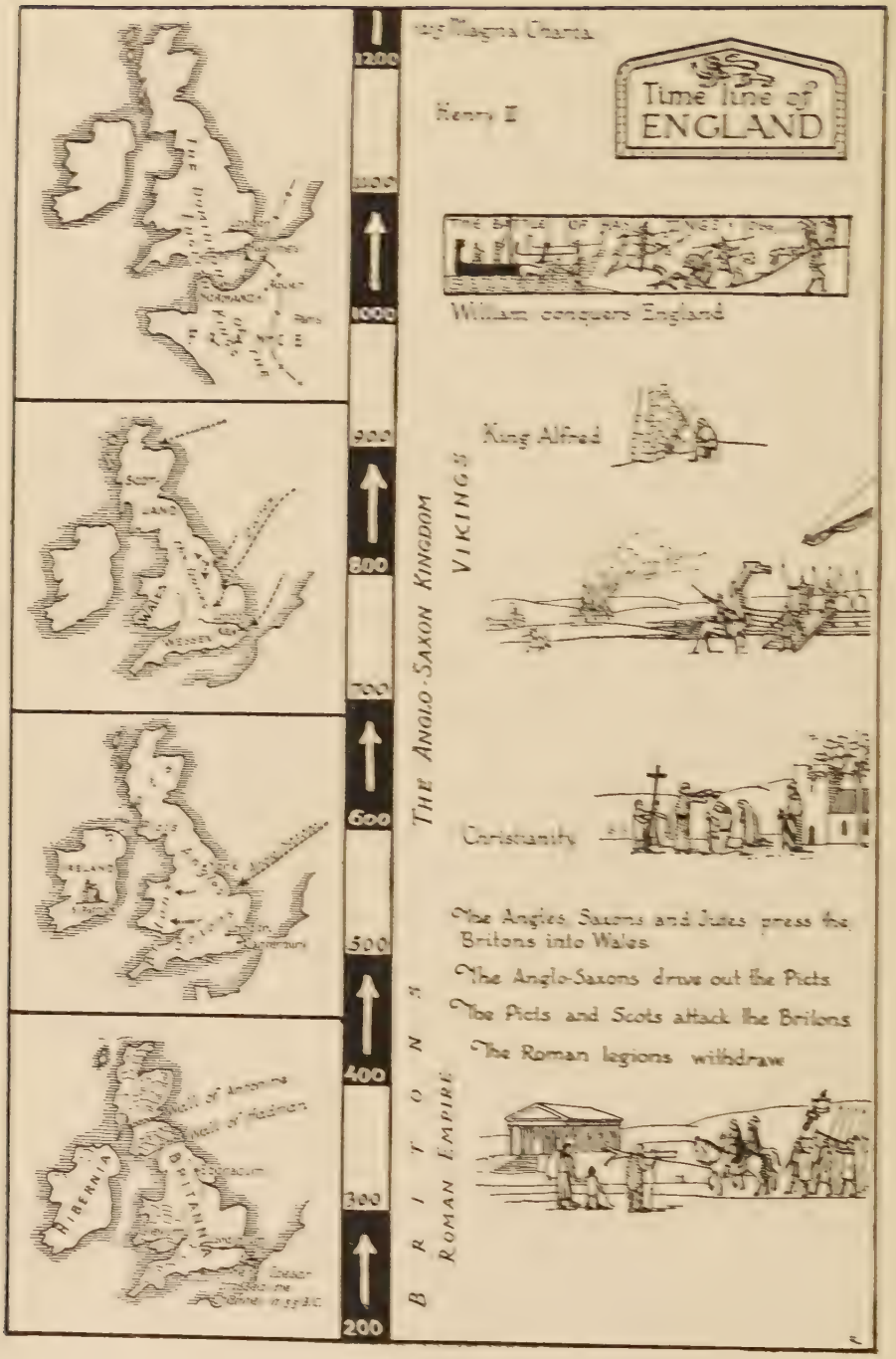
From the Bayeux Tapestry.

There were, of course, many other sources of words, Celtic survivals, Latin words from the Roman occupation, Danish, and in modern times an endless number of words from Latin,

SAXONS OF THE TIME OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

Greek, and many other tongues. The English language is almost as mixed as is the English race.

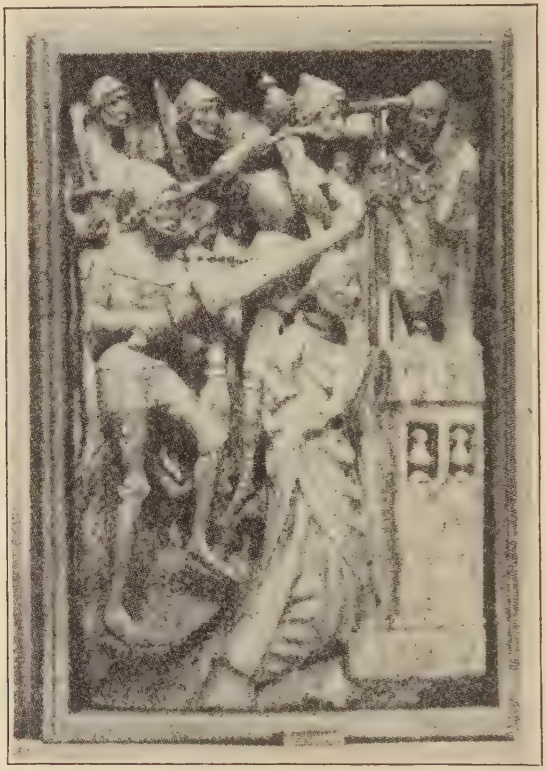
William the Conqueror was a masterful ruler, and he did England the great service of subjecting the whole feudal system to a strong monarchy. As a result, the country es-


1215 Magna Charta
Henry II
Time line of ENGLAND
THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS 1066
William conquers England
King Alfred
Christianity
The Angles, Saxons and Jutes press the Britons into Wales
The Anglo-Saxons drive out the Picts
The Picts and Scots attack the Britons
The Roman legions withdraw
THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOM
VIKINGS
BRITONS
ROMAN EMPIRE
1200
1100
1000
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
HIBERNIA
BRITANNIA
Wall of Antonine
Wall of Hadrian
Caesar invades Britain 55 B.C.

caped the extremes of feudal localism, and the English nation was the first in western Europe to take form. As has been set forth, feudalism in theory placed the king at the centre of the system; the nobles held their land from him and were his vassals, owing him loyalty and military support. In other countries this theory was not lived up to. Great nobles were, in fact, often more powerful than the king. The lesser nobility, not holding land directly from the king, looked to their lord for orders and felt little sense of loyalty to the royal cause. In England, William required every landowner to take an oath of loyalty directly to him. He prevented the development of great holdings.

Much of this work was undone during the reigns of weak successors, and it was not till the great-grandson of William, Henry II, came to the throne in the twelfth century that further advances were made. This strong king was a born ruler, a tireless organizer. He destroyed a number of castles built by rebellious nobles. He sent his judges to hold court throughout the country, thus substituting king's courts and king's justice for the local justice of the nobles provided by the feudal system. The grand jury made its appearance, followed, later in the century, by the petit jury. The common law, based on ancient customs, as contrasted with the French law, based on Roman law, began to take form. He conquered Ireland, up to this time ruled by a number of petty kings. By inheritance and marriage he gained control of all western France. Normandy and Brittany came from his great-

grandfather. His mother had married Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou, and through him he held Anjou and Maine. By marrying Eleanor of Aquitaine he gained southwestern



THE MURDER OF THOMAS À BECKET.
From a fifteenth-century alabaster carving in the British Museum.

France. Thus at this time the English king held more than half of France, and the larger part of his lands lay south of the Channel. Here was the cause of endless fighting, including the Hundred Years' War from 1337 to 1453; the English were not driven entirely out of France until 1558. Henry

THE BATTLE OF POITIERS, ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ENGLISH VICTORIES IN THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

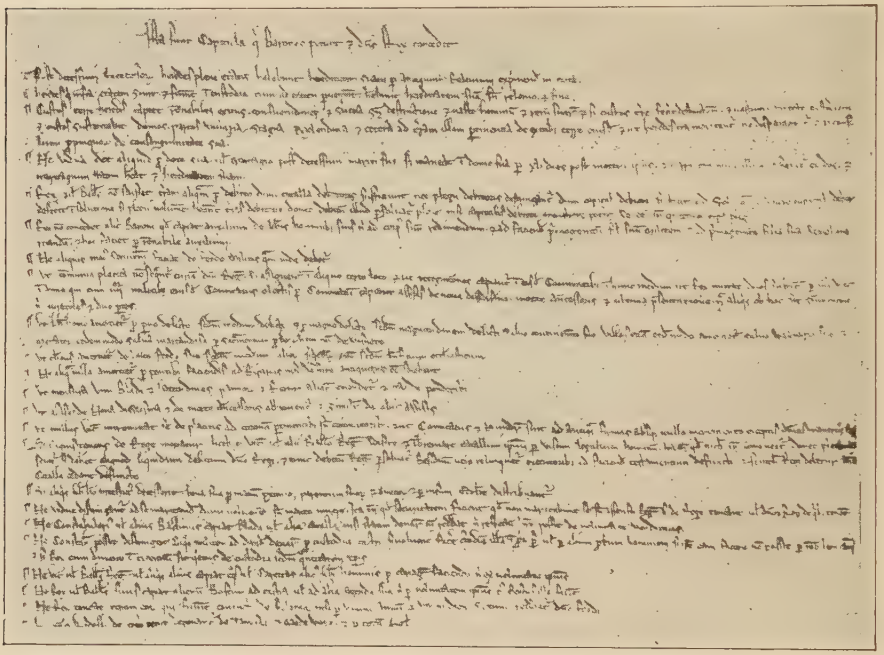
THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, ENGLAND'S MOST POWERFUL FRENCH ALLY IN THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

From a fifteenth-century manuscript of Froissart's "Chronicle."

II had ambitions to control the clergy, and the murder of Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was an accidental result of this policy. Becket opposed and irritated Henry, and was killed in the chancel of his own cathedral by overzealous followers of the king. By the threat of excommunication the Pope compelled Henry to make public penance. In this first clash of an English king with a pope, Rome was victorious.

As happens again and again in the history of monarchies, the great Henry II was succeeded by far from great sons. John has many claims to rank as the wickedest of English rulers. His reign is famous above all else for Magna Carta, a charter of English liberties forced from John in 1215 by the barons, in revolt against his tyranny. They marched against him in force, and upon a meadow at Runnymede, by the Thames, near London, he signed with them this statement of an English freeman's rights. This most famous of all governmental documents made the law of England supreme over the will of the monarch. It was a reaction from the growth of kingly power begun by William the Conqueror; but it did not break up the kingdom into principalities as did feudalism in France; rather, by defining the rights of king, nobles, towns, merchants, and plain freemen, it laid the foundation for the gradual development of a limited or constitutional monarchy in which England led all Europe. Magna Carta contains a clear forerunner of the principle of parliamentary government. It provides that no extraordinary tax shall be

levied without the consent of the common council, composed of the bishops, abbots, and the greater nobility. One of the great provisions, the source of an important clause in the



A PORTION OF THE MAGNA CARTA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

American Constitution, is the following: "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold, or outlawed or banished or in any way damaged . . . but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." (For a similar check on the arbitrary power of a king to imprison whom he willed, France had to wait till the French Revolution.) Thereafter the development of constitutional rule was steady. Before 1300 the council became known as Par-

© *John Swain & Son, Ltd.*

KING JOHN, CONFRONTED BY HIS BARONS AT RUNNYMEDE, GIVES UNWILLING CONSENT TO MAGNA CARTA.

From a painting by Charles Sims, R. A., by courtesy of Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd.

liament and a new class of members was added, known later as the commons, and consisting of knights and citizens of the towns. Some time after 1300 Parliament was divided into the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and the great institution upon which modern parliamentary government the world round has been modelled began its historic course.

The same period saw the conquest of Wales and the beginning of the long struggle between England and Scotland that was to last three centuries, till a Scotch king ascended the throne of England in 1603. There was a difference of blood and language behind this warfare. The Teutonic elements were not nearly so strong in Scotland and the Celtic were far stronger. The Scotch kings turned to the French kings as their natural allies in the warfare, and the effort of the English to maintain themselves in their French possessions was complicated by the presence of this hard fighting enemy to the north.

The growth of the French nation was far slower. It was more difficult in France to subdue the nobles. Instead, the royal power gained bit by bit, largely through increases in the royal domain, that is to say, land not held by any great vassal. One dynasty, the Capetians, ruled through most of this period. Philip Augustus, Louis IX (Saint Louis), Philip the Fair, and later the curious, crafty Louis XI of the house of Valois were the most conspicuous rulers. By conquest, marriage, and confiscation these kings gradually made them-

CULTURAL MIDDLE

THE CHURCH ~ CRUSADES

1450

Hussite wars

Martin V.

Council of Constance

1400

The great schism

Wycliffe 1320–1384

1350

The great plague

PAPAL TIARA

1300

Papal court in Avignon

Boniface VIII

Albertus Magnus d.1280

St. Thomas Aquinas d.1274

Last crusade of St. Louis 1270

1250

VII. crusade. St. Louis 1248

Jerusalem lost 1244

VI. crusade Frederick II.

St. Dominic

Massacre of Albigenslans

V. crusade 1217.

Childrens crusade

1200

Innocent III.

IV cr. turns against the Eastern Emp.

III. crusade 1189.

Saladin recaptures Jerusalem

1150

II. crusade. St. Bernard

1100

First crusade } 1096

Peoples crusade }

Council of Clermont 1095

Urban II 1087–99

Gregory VII 1073–85

1050

1000

Growing power of the church. Monasteries are the centers of learning

SCIENCE ~ ART ~ SOCIETY

Revival of learning

Greek scholars sellle in Italy.

Rivalry of the big Italian trading cities.

Boccaccio 1313–1375

Petrarch 1304–74

Growth of the Hanseatic league

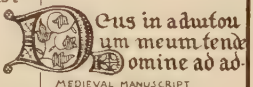
Dante 1265–1321

Rise of towns

Roger Bacon 1214–94

Gothic style of architecture

St. Francis of Assisi 1282–1226



MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT

First universities

Paris

Oxford

Bologna

Salerno

Romanesque style

Troubadours, Minnesingers

Development of castle building

Truce of God proclaimed in 1041

Development of knighthood under the feudal system

AGES POLITICAL

ENGLAND

Battle of Agincourt

Wycliffe
End of serfdom
Peasant revolts

EARLY GUN

Battle of Crecy
Edward III. 1327-77

Scotch wars 1282
Conquest of Wales
Edward I. 1272-1307

Lords Commons
PARLIAMENT

MAGNA CHARTA 1215

Richard the Lion Hearted

Murder of Ta Becket
Common Law
Henry II. 1154-89

ENGLISH LANGUAGE
(later) French
Latin
Saxon
Celtic Roman

Growing of the royal power
William the Conqueror crosses the Channel 1066

Danish kings of England

FRANCE

Joan of Arc

< 100 YEARS WAR >

Philip the Fair 1285-1314

St. Louis 1236-70

Philip Augustus 1180-1223

FRENCH LANGUAGE
Langue d'oc
Frankish
Gaul
Latin

Hugh Capet king of France

GERMANY

Hussite wars

Hanseatic league

Swiss league 1291

Ottokar of Bohemia
Rudolf of Hapsburg 1273-91
Interregnum

Frederick II. 1212-50

Frederick I. 1152-90 Barbarossa

Struggle between the Pope and Emperor

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Otto I. crowned as Emperor 962

ITALY

The Golden Bull of Charles IV. in 1336. (Germany)

Growth of independent city states in Italy and Germany

Sicilian vesper 1282

Charles of Anjou conquers Sicily

conflict with the Pope

his Sicilian kingdom

Lombard league

Norman kings of the two Sicilies 1090-1194

Canossa 1077
Guiscard takes Sicily

1450
1400
1350
1300
1250
1200
1150
1100
1050
1000

THE BLACK DEATH.

From a fifteenth-century woodcut used as a charm against a later epidemic of the plague. The man and woman lying on the ground are victims of the Black Death, while the second couple are appealing to St. Valentine for protection.

selves lords of the most of France, which they ruled just as any other feudal lord ruled the lands which he held as vassal of the king. Here was the weakness of the French develop-

ment; the king was an absolute master within the royal domain, and French government matured in these regions. There was a French Parliament, the Estates General, in

THE BATTLE OF CRÉCY.

At the right, the English archers are pressing forward, while at the left the French knights are struggling with their soldiers. In the background Philip VI of France is taking refuge in his castle.

From a fifteenth-century manuscript of Froissart's "Chronicle."

which the townspeople were represented, but it did not become effective. There was no unity of sentiment among the nobles to force a charter from the kings. Doubtless the Hundred Years' War, fought on French territory, had much to

do with preventing the growth of constitutional rule in France and establishing the absolutism that caused the French Revolution. For one thing, it gave the kings of France occasion to develop a standing army independent of feudal service.

This terrible period of intermittent warfare was a tragedy for both nations, but particularly for France. To add to its horrors, the Black Death came in 1348–1349 to kill a third or more of the population in Europe. The war was a war of conquest begun by Edward III of England as a claimant to the French throne. The two famous battles of Crécy (1346) and Agincourt (1415) were both victories for the English longbows against the French knights in their heavy armor. At one time most of France was conquered. It was not until Joan of Arc saw her visions at Domremy and inspired the soldiers of France that the tide of battle turned. She was burned to death as a witch by the English at Rouen in 1431. By 1453 the English were driven out of all France save only the port of Calais. France was at last a nation.

Too little is known of the fundamental springs of human action, whether of individuals or of groups, to determine why France and England thus finally became separate nations. Both peoples were of greatly mixed blood, and both held the same three racial elements. The northern element overbalanced the other two in England. In France, while there can be no pretense to accuracy, it is perhaps fair to estimate that the three strains, northern, Celtic, and Mediter-

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

THE VISION OF JOAN OF ARC.

From the painting by J. Bastien Le Page.

ranean, were more or less equal. In this respect it is unique.

France is often classed as a Latin nation, with Italy and Spain. The facts as to Spain have already been suggested. The classification is hardly more accurate as to France. The northern element was strong throughout France in the days of the Teutonic invasion. The very name of the country is northern. Only in speech is France to be classed with the southern nations. Instead of the Frankish tongue prevailing in France, Latin survived the invasions and, having lost many of its inflections on the tongues of the people, developed into French. It is grouped with Italian and Spanish, similar popularized descendants of Latin, under the name Romance Languages, Romance here meaning simply Roman. Few Celtic words survived in French and not many more Teutonic. Two main dialects developed: one in the north, the *langue d'oïl*, and the other in the south, the *langue d'oc*, the names coming from the words for "yes" in the two speeches. The troubadours sang in the *langue d'oc*. But the northern tongue prevailed and is the basis of modern French. It is interesting to note, however, that as a Celtic tongue survives among the peasants of Brittany, so the *langue d'oc* is still heard in many parts of southern France.

The East Frankish kingdom, the forerunner of modern Germany, made little progress toward unity in the Middle Ages. There the worst weaknesses of feudalism continued till centuries later. This was not for lack of strong kings, of whom she had many. Racial and geographical divergencies

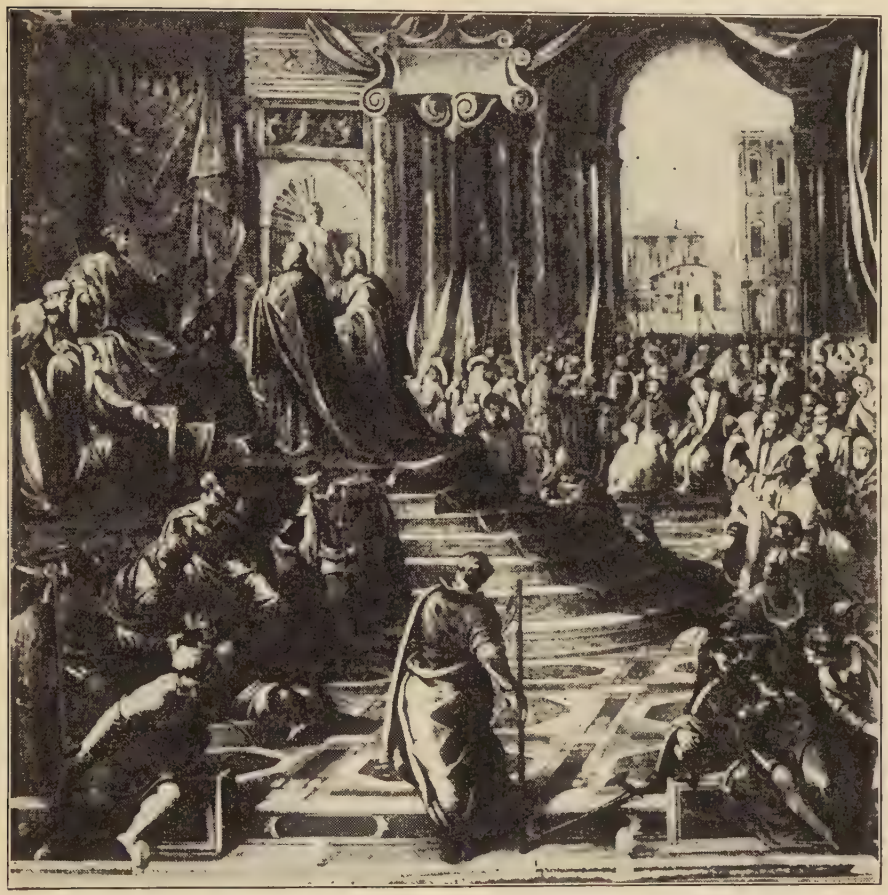
were among the causes of this arrested progress. As was observed in the cases of England and France, the sources of such developments are too complex and obscure to be analyzed or weighed with accuracy. Plain chance may well have played its part. Probably the fact that the king of these eastern Franks succeeded in annexing permanently the title of Roman emperor also retarded unity. This seems like a paradox. But the proud title kept these emperors away from their real kingdom much of the time, mixing in Italian or papal politics. By the year 1000 the king of the East Franks was securely established as emperor of the Romans, and what is now Germany became a part of the Western Roman Empire. In the twelfth century Frederick Barbarossa added the word Holy to the name and it remained the Holy Roman Empire for 500 years. This strong emperor believed to the full that he was the heir of the Cæsars and reigned by God's will. Yet with all his ability and energy he did not succeed in subduing the Italian cities in northern Italy. His grandson, Frederick II, has already been mentioned, by reason of his successful crusade while excommunicated; this free-minded and able ruler spent much of his time organizing and ruling the Sicilian kingdom, consisting of Sicily and southern Italy to the south of Rome and the Papal States. Soon after his death all this was lost.

Thus before the end of the thirteenth century the Holy Roman Empire had lost control of its Italian possessions. Switzerland and the Netherlands were destined to break

THE BURNING OF JOAN OF ARC.

From the mural painting in the Panthéon, Paris, by J. E. Lenepveu.

loose within the next 300 years. Throughout the empire the central power remained weak; the real rulers of the eastern



FREDERICK BARBAROSSA RECEIVES THE LEGATES OF THE POPE AND THE DOGE OF VENICE AT PAVIA.

From the painting by Tintoretto in the Ducal Palace at Venice.

Franks were the nobles. Not until the nineteenth century were these countless principalities to be welded into a modern nation.

The languages which developed in the area of modern

Germany were all Teutonic, closely allied to the speech of England before the Norman Conquest. Modern German is the descendant of dialects prevailing near the centre of the whole region. In comparison with English, it has been far less influenced by other tongues and is much more nearly a pure Teutonic language. Racially the peoples of Germany were a mingling of Teutonic and Alpine strains. The Mediterranean type seems to be wholly absent, this fact constituting the most important contrast with both England and France. To the east there was a large admixture of Slavic blood, an eastern branch of the Alpine race, according to many anthropologists. The Teutonic elements were strong, but the dark broad-heads of the Alpine stock held their own, especially in the southern areas, in modern Bavaria, for example.

For quite other reasons, Italy was equally slow to develop national unity. The Papal Estates, ruled by the Pope as a feudal lord, cut across the middle of the peninsula from Rome to Ravenna. The region to the south, of which Naples was the most important town, with a population much mixed by influx from Greece and Carthage, was slow to develop, and, like the island of Sicily, was the easy prey of conquerors. The story of Sicily is a unique procession of colonizations and conquests. In turn, Greeks, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Ostrogoths, Saracens, Normans, Germans, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Austrians, and then again Spaniards, down to the days of Garibaldi, held it. Perhaps the most ex-

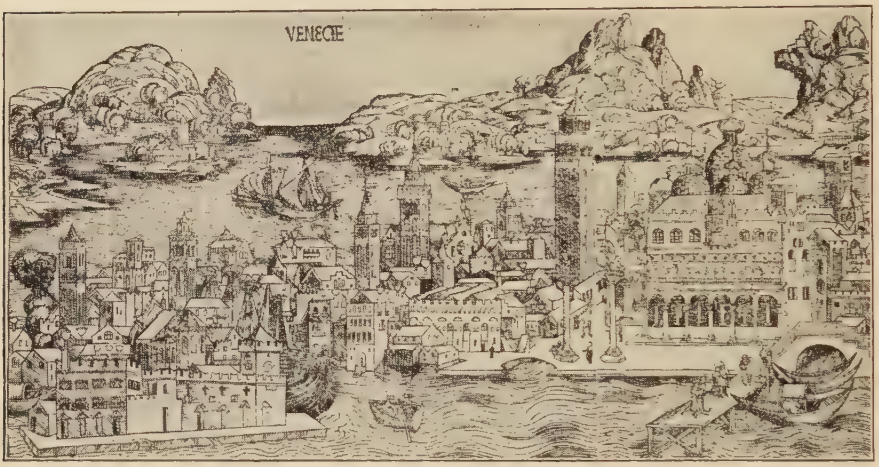
traordinary adventure of the Middle Ages was the conquest of Sicily by the same breed of roving Normans who conquered England. Only consummate daring and furious fight-

From a photograph © by Ewing Galloway.

THE CHURCH OF SAN GIOVANNI DEGLI EREMITI, AT PALERMO, SICILY.
It was the bell of this church which was sounding when the Sicilian Vespers began.

ing ability could have achieved this bizarre invasion of the South by the North. Two Norman brothers, Robert and Roger Guiscard, accomplished the feat about the time of William the Conqueror. A son added southern Italy to his realm, and took the title of king of Sicily. He launched fleets against all the Mediterranean and reigned as one of the

richest and most powerful monarchs of Europe. He had the same toleration for foreign creeds and languages and races that the Normans showed in France and England. At Palermo he built a church with Norman doors, Saracenic arches, and Byzantine dome. But here in the South the Nor-



VENICE IN 1300.
From a woodcut in the Nuremburg "Chronicle."

man genius, brilliant as it was, could not permanently alter the tide of events. The strange hybrid of civilization became part of the Holy Roman Empire under Frederick II; was conquered by Charles of Anjou, a powerful French noble; and the French were in turn thrown out of the island in 1282 by an uprising and massacre called the Sicilian Vespers, because it broke out as the church-bells were ringing for the vesper service.

Meantime in northern Italy there were springing up the most prosperous and progressive towns of all Europe. This

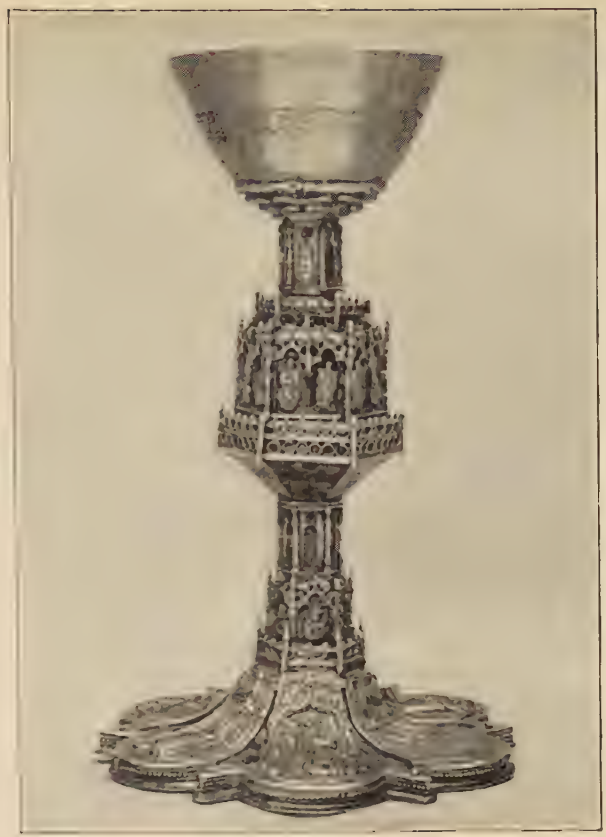
was a region that had been overrun in the sixth century by a late tide of Teutonic barbarians, the Lombards, who rivalled the Franks in force and cruelty. The great plain to the north of the Po is still called Lombardy after these Teutonic conquerors. Here, as throughout Italy, the invaders did not succeed in imposing their language or their customs upon the region. But they made northern Italy a greatly mixed race of northern, Alpine, and Mediterranean strains. The language remained a popularized descendant of Latin, like French and Spanish. Among the towns that grew up in Lombardy and the surrounding regions were Milan, Venice, and Florence, which were destined soon to become the intellectual and artistic leaders of all Europe. Trade with the East born of the Crusades was the foundation of Venetian prosperity. The rivalry of these towns was intense, and they combined with difficulty only to repel a foreign conqueror, as when the Lombard League forced terms from Frederick Barbarossa. In most cases they had gained their independence, like the other free towns of Europe, gradually, by revolt against their feudal lords. They began as aristocratic republics, ruled by elected magistrates and boards; they went through countless terrors of party feuds, mob uprisings, and finally despotism. It was in this region of jealous, prospering, independent communities, wholly lacking in national spirit, racked by frequent revolution and bloodshed, that the next great flowering of the human spirit took its beginning.

The problem of nationalism in Spain was complicated by

THE CRUSADERS EXAMINE WITH ASTONISHMENT THE MAGNIFICENT WARES OF THE ORIENT.

From an engraving by Gustave Doré.

the alien rule first of the Arabs, later of the Moors, dark whites from northern Africa, largely of Arabian origin, who followed in the wake of the first invaders. This Eastern conquest made Cordova in the tenth century the most splendid



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

EXAMPLES OF SPANISH CRAFTSMANSHIP.

(*Left*) A silver chalice of Gothic design made in the fifteenth century.
(*Right*) An ivory and silver-gilt book-cover made in the eleventh century.

city of Europe except Constantinople, and placed the civilization of Spain far above that of the rest of Europe. But the contest between Christian and Moslem would not down. The Middle Ages saw the climax of the struggle and the final defeat of the Mohammedans. The growth of the nation was delayed by the development of separate kingdoms which were not united till much later, in the fifteenth century, in the famous reign of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon. The small kingdom of Portugal, that like other small states of Europe was to have its hour of brilliancy, was simply one of these kingdoms that maintained its independence. The Spanish language, a modern Latin, was enriched by a large number of oriental words brought in by the Arabian conquest. Racially the Spanish stand apart from the rest of Europe by reason of the admixture of Eastern and north African blood. Since their original Mediterranean stock was overrun by Celts and Teutons, the Spanish are perhaps the most mixed of peoples.

Superficially, the Middle Ages presented a simple and unified appearance; no period more so. Yet at the height of the era the nations of modern times were already forming, to raze the very foundations of mediævalism. The fact is a useful warning of the danger of taking any such period of history too seriously. Eras are helpful to analysis and portrayal. They have no real existence; there are always counter-forces present to destroy any thorough unity of design, and history remains a stream of countless currents and eddies that defy accurate measurement or description.

From a modern perspective, the Western world must view the Middle Ages as significant not one whit more for their typical institutions like feudalism and the Church, profoundly as these have influenced modern peoples, than for the origin of nations in the modern sense. Europe is but a promontory of Asia, not one-quarter its size and but little larger than the United States. Yet it is divided into more than a score of nations, and its inhabitants speak some sixty different languages. Such extreme diversity and division are one of the most striking characteristics of modern Europe, and, considering the comparative homogeneity of its racial strains, an extraordinary phenomenon. The Middle Ages saw the decision taken in this direction, the crystallization of this diversity, and the beginning, alongside the old loyalties of feudalism, of the new loyalty of patriotism.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE RISE OF THE EAST

I. CHINA

While Europe was slowly rising from the Dark Ages, through the Middle Ages, into the Renaissance and beyond, the people of China achieved their peak and passed it. By coincidence the three great dynasties of China corresponded roughly in time with three periods of European history. The Tang dynasty (618–907 A. D.) and the Dark Ages were roughly contemporaneous, the Sung dynasty (960–1279) matched the Middle Ages, the Mings (1358–1644) the Renaissance.

But in the case of China, the first was unquestionably the greatest. While disorder was at its height in Europe the Chinese reached their most brilliant civilization. Under the Tang rulers, the empire was as successful in its wars as in its arts. Its boundaries were extended from the Caspian Sea to the Pacific. Some of the most beautiful of Chinese paintings, carvings, and bronzes were produced and Chinese poetry reached its highest point. The Sung dynasty showed less vitality, though the list of its poets is long and the landscape painting notable. It was interrupted by the Mongol invasion of Genghis Khan, whose conquests are soon to be related. The

INDIA

British rule

Mogul (Mongol) dynasty

1500

Tamerlane

Spreading of Mohammedanism

Ephtalite invasion

Revival of Brahminism

Parthian invasion

A.D. / B.C.

Spreading of Buddhism

Asoka 263-26

Alexander the Great

500

Gotama Buddha around 500

Early brahminism.

CASTES OF THE BRAHMIN SYSTEM

Brahmins = priests
Kshatriya = soldiers
Vaishya = settlers
Sudra = laborers

Pariah = below caste

1000

Coming of the Aryans

Old Dravidian culture

2000

CHINA

Republic

Ching (Manchu) Dynasty

1500

Ming dynasty

Yuan (Mongol) dynasty

Sung dynasty

1000

Silk, paper and tea export to the peoples of Asia + Europe

Tang dynasty GOLDEN AGE OF CHINA

500

Building of the Grand Canal

Building of the Great Wall

Han dynasty

Age of classics. Confucius 550-428

Lao Tze (Taoism)

Chou dynasty

1000

Consolidation of China

Early bronze and weaving industry

1500

Development of syllabic writing

中國總論

Ross

AN EXAMPLE OF CHINESE ART OF THE LATE SUNG DYNASTY.

A statuette of painted wood, representing one of the Nios, or Chinese warrior spirits.

From the collection of S. Bing.

Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

A CHINESE PAINTING OF THE TANG DYNASTY.

The Buddha Sakyamuni preaching "the Lotus of the Good Law" to an assemblage of divinities.

period of the Mings showed a cultured eclecticism and a high level of craftsmanship rather than creative imagination.

Why Chinese civilization should not have gone forward from the period of the Tang dynasty has been lengthily debated. In the present rudimentary state of investigation and study of Chinese history, no clear answer is possible. Stress is often laid on the backwardness of Chinese writing. The literary language has come down from before the time of Confucius practically unchanged. This continuity of 3,000 years contrasts sharply with the rise and fall of languages and literatures in western Europe. As one result of this conservatism, Chinese writing remains the most elementary of civilized languages. It lacks even an alphabet. By contrast, language in the Western world has developed to an endless variety of form and expression and high state of organization. The speculation is obvious that with an alphabet China might have progressed farther. But more fundamental causes, looking to the basic facts of character, custom, and philosophy, must also be considered. The hour is still afar when analysis and generalization with respect to China may be attempted.

What is clear is that more than a thousand years ago Chinese statesmanship, poetry, and art reached their climax. Since then achievement has been considerable but progress has been limited. The old customs and the old morality have kept the Chinese people generally peaceful and contented. Their strength of character, their continuity, their sense of beauty, cannot be questioned. Here is one of the great peoples

of the earth, and the Western mind should certainly be slow to doubt its future, considering its enduring successes in the past.

2. THE MONGOLIAN CONQUESTS

China had been periodically invaded from the north and west, and the thirteenth century brought the greatest of the conquerors to Peking. These were the Mongols, dwellers in and around the Gobi Desert. They were another branch of the yellow race, more closely akin to the Turks than to the Chinese, whom they conquered. This region was a reservoir of nomads, precisely as had been the Arabian Desert to the southwest, and the inhabitants were doubtless driven outward by climatic changes as were the Arabian peoples. They owed their extraordinary career of victory to the genius of several leaders—Genghis Khan (1162–1227) and his grandsons, of whom Kublai Khan was one. The former, whose name is really a title that he assumed meaning "Great Ruler," was one of the mightiest of all the conquerors. He was a great cavalry general, and a tolerant patron of learning and religion, for all his barbarous treachery and bloody ways. At his death he was the master of the greatest empire ever subjected by one man; his conquests ran from the China Sea on the east to the Indus River on the south and the Dnieper on the west, an area many times the United States in extent. His armies had plundered and slaughtered far into Russia. There is no more picturesque figure in history than this dweller in a

KUBLAI KHAN DINES IN HIS PAVILION.

From "Le Livre des Merveilles."

THE FOUR WIVES OF GENGHIS KHAN AND THEIR SONS.

tent who by sheer military genius made a small nomad people supreme across a continent.

Genghis Khan showed the same toleration for all religions that the Chinese habitually showed. But complete toleration

From F. R. Martin's "Miniature Painting."

A MONGOLIAN BATTLE SCENE.

From a drawing heightened with pale colors, probably made for an embroiderer of the Yuan period.

based on a lack of strong faith in any religion is not as significant as less toleration gained amid fervent beliefs. It is easy to exaggerate the importance of this childlike curiosity that welcomed uncritically every new faith. Genghis Khan had no ability to organize his conquests. He sought only effective police order, swift military communications, and tribute. When his military genius faded in his descendants, the

empire broke into its component parts. The last of the great nomad conquests left no enduring mark, of language or institution or faith. Only in so far as it deposited yellow peoples in Europe did it permanently alter the map of the world.

From "Le Livre des Merveilles."

THE DEATH OF GENGHIS KHAN.

As he lay dying, Genghis Khan called his sons around him and gave them a bundle of arrows. If kept together, the arrows could not be broken, but if taken separately they were very fragile. "It is likewise in your case," said the Khan. "If you remain closely allied after my death, you will be invincible. But if you fall apart you will meet with defeat."

When the Great Khan died his empire was divided among his descendants. One grandson, Kublai Khan (1216–1294), united all China in one empire, and, adopting the higher civilization of the Chinese, ruled wisely and well. It was his court that Marco Polo (*c.* 1254–1324), the young Venetian merchant, visited with his father and uncle toward the end of the thirteenth century. "The Travels of Marco Polo" are

KUBLAI KHAN RECEIVES MARCO POLO, HIS FATHER, AND HIS UNCLE.

From "Le Livre des Merveilles."

THE PALACE OF KUBLAI KHAN AT PEKING.

excellent reading to-day, and in their time they did much to stir the mind of Europe to an appreciation of the great peoples in the Far East. It was Polo who gave the name of

From F. R. Martin's "Miniature Painting."

A MONGOL WARRIOR AND HIS HORSE.

From a Persian copy of a Chinese original of the Yuan period, *circa* 1500 A. D.

Cathay to China (probably from Khitan, the name of some early conquerors of China). The name prevailed for centuries, and still lives in poetical usage. It was this same Cathay, of incredible riches, as described by Marco Polo, that Columbus hoped to reach by sailing westward across the Atlantic.

Another grandson, Batu Khan (died *c.* 1255), took over the western conquests and overran eastern Europe much as had Attila, the Hun, some eight centuries before. Just who the Huns were racially it is difficult to determine, but they were undoubtedly a yellow race akin to Mongols and Turks, and the advance of one much resembles the other. There is no more merciless and destructive march in history than that of Batu Khan across eastern Europe. He lived in a gorgeously embroidered silk tent, and therefrom his army was named the Golden Horde. Modern historians consider the word "horde" a misnomer, seeing in these yellow forces organized armies of great tactical effectiveness. Moscow and Kiev in Russia, Cracow in Poland, Breslau in Silesia, were among the cities burned and put to the sword. Incredible cruelties were practised. In Hungary these new orientals slaughtered their predecessors, the Magyars or Hungarians, now Europeanized, with perfect impartiality. When the empire collapsed, it left a large population of Tatar* blood in eastern Russia. This thrust of the East was halted, though not defeated, in Silesia, never reaching France, as did Attila.

Another typical Asiatic conqueror followed in the latter half of the fourteenth century, Timur of Samarkand (1336–1405), in the heart of Asia. He is commonly known as Tam-

*In the centuries following the Middle Ages, all these Eastern invaders were indiscriminately called Tatars or Tartars. Tartary was a vague term for northwestern Asia, as Cathay meant eastern Asia. The spelling Tatar is now preferred, and it is used in a narrower sense to designate 3 million Asiatic inhabitants of the Russian Empire, most of whom came in with the Golden Horde. They are of Turkish stock rather than Mongolian.

erlane, from an Anglicization of words meaning Timur the Lame. At the height of his power his sway ran from Asia Minor in the west to northern India in the east. His conquest

From F. R. Martin's "Miniature Painting."

TIMUR OF SAMARKAND.

From a contemporary portrait.

of Delhi was one of the most thorough massacres of history, all the males to the number of 100,000 being put to the sword, according to one report. His conquests perished with him.

3. THE TURKS

There remains to be mentioned one of the most important consequences of the great Mongolian conquests. That was the movement of the Ottoman Turks, small in itself yet of permanent importance to Asia Minor and Europe. There is no clearer illustration of the fact that in the struggle between peoples the character of the strain—whatever this mysterious phrase points to—is everything and mere numbers nothing. The Ottoman Turks were a small band of nomadic yellow peoples driven out of central Asia by the troops of Genghis Khan. They were called Ottoman after their first great leader, Othman; after trekking hundreds of miles they settled finally on the highlands of Asia Minor among the Seljuk Turks, of related stock, who had preceded them. They speedily showed their strength by becoming dominant in Asia Minor. Since they have remained so to the present day to the constant turmoil of Europe, it is worth recalling the checkered career of this unique area, best known as Asia Minor, often called by geographers Anatolia.

It projects westward into the Mediterranean like a bridge between Asia and Europe but severed at the western end by the Hellespont and the Bosporus. Its core of bleak mountains and plateaus is bordered west and north by a fertile coast. To the south the Taurus Mountains wall it in and block the road to Syria and Mesopotamia. But one pass exists, the historic Cilician Gates, through which Cyrus and Alexander,

and earlier tribes and conquerors without number, entered the region. This great peninsula, the westernmost thrust of Asia, marks a transition from Europe to Asia. In it grow the

TESHUB, THE HITTITE WEATHER GOD.
From a bas-relief recently found at Babylon.

trees of the North and the olive and fig of the South; and Eastern blood is so mingled with Western blood that ethnological analysis is a hopeless task. Because it is a main bridge between Europe and Asia no spot on the earth's surface has seen so many waves of immigration and invasion pass over it.

The Hittites, of Old Testament fame, were the first known inhabitants. Their identification is one of the most interesting discoveries of modern archæology. A large number of monuments and inscriptions have now been dug up, indicating that a powerful people ruled here in the days of Moses and Homer. Unfortunately, their language has not yet been translated. The carvings show men with broad heads, sloping foreheads, and hooked noses, not unlike the hill type of Armenian of to-day. It is probable that they were an Eastern people, and, if so, this region entered historic times as a part of Asia. But northern Indo-Europeans invaded it in the seventh century B. C., and it was completely Hellenized under Alexander the Great. The western coast, with its many islands, had long been regarded as a part of Greece. That a wandering tribe of Gauls settled there in the third century B. C. has been noted. Rome securely attached Asia Minor to the West, but it was won back first by Persian armies and then by the overwhelming tide of Arabian conquest in the eighth century. It has remained Eastern territory ever since largely through the force and vigor of the next conquerors, the Turks. The Seljuk Turks appeared in the eleventh century, the Ottoman Turks in the fourteenth century. The former organized an empire that included Persia, Syria, and Asia Minor, and in Persia achieved a brilliant literature. The great Persian poet and astronomer, Omar Khayyam (died 1123), wrote at this time. Oddly, the Seljuk Empire in Asia Minor was called by Moslems Rum or Rome, a tribute to the

time when Rome was supreme there. Such was the medley of names and racial strains in Asia Minor when the small tribe of wandering Ottoman Turks arrived upon the scene. Their rise was gradual but sure. By the middle of the fourteenth

From "Le Livre des Merveilles."

THE SELJUK TURKS INVADE PERSIA.

century most of Asia Minor was subdued, and the new rulers had gained their first foothold in Europe by the capture of Gallipoli on the Dardanelles. Thence their armies pressed forward into the Balkans. (The conquest of Asia Minor by Tamerlane furnished one brief interruption.) The Byzantine Empire sank lower and lower, and finally, in 1453, Constantinople fell to the Turks and the historic line of the Eastern Roman Empire was ended, with what consequences to the mind of Europe the history of the Renaissance bears wit-

ness. The height of Ottoman power was reached in the middle of the sixteenth century; Bulgaria, Serbia, and Hungary

From "Le Livre des Merveilles."

SELIM II, SULTAN OF TURKEY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

were conquered; Turkish armies besieged Vienna. On the Mediterranean Turkish ships were supreme. Thereafter the

tide of battle rolled to and fro; once more, late in the seventeenth century, Turkish guns were trained on Vienna; and the nineteenth century arrived with this Asiatic power still master of most of the Balkans and a source of unending warfare.

From F. R. Martin's "Miniature Painting."

THE SIEGE OF ANTIOCH BY THE SELJUK TURKS

As a result of this long Asiatic conquest of southeastern Europe, the peoples beyond the Danube became a racial medley, marking a clear transition between Europe and Asia, and closely resembling the peoples of Asia Minor. The Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosporus form the geographical boundary between Europe and Asia, but there is no such sharp cleavage of races. From the Danube to the

Euphrates, yellow and white races are inextricably mingled. To intensify the confusion was added the clash of religions. The Turks brought no religion with them into Asia Minor. They adopted there the prevailing religion of the country, Mohammedanism. It is a striking fact, paralleling the religious barrenness of the northern peoples of Europe, that neither the Chinese nor the Mongols nor any northern people of Asia developed a powerful religion of their own. (Confucianism and Taoism are philosophies rather than religions.) They adopted the religions of southern Asia—Buddhism and Mohammedanism—precisely as northern Europe adopted yet another religion born in southern Asia, Christianity. Yet, as has been seen, Christianity failed to conquer Asia, and as it travelled westward and northward it took on European forms and character.* It has been argued that Christianity might have swept all Asia had the popes of the late Middle Ages been alert and forceful. There was certainly an open-mindedness in China and Mongolia toward all religions at this time, for the excellent reason that there was no fervent faith in any religion to limit tolerance. But it is quite as probable that westernized Christianity did not suit the Eastern point of view as well as Buddhism and Moham-

*The Nestorian Church formed the one important early eastward movement. These Asiatic Christians split off from Constantinople in the fifth century and established churches in eastern Syria, Persia, India, and central Asia. Their missionaries penetrated even to China. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo brought back glowing tidings of a great Christian monarch, ruling somewhere in Mongolia, Prester John. The Middle Ages believed firmly in this fabulous Christian king of Asia. Modern research has failed to discover the kernel of fact that probably lies within this picturesque fable.

TURKS — RISE OF THE EAST — MONGOLS RUSSIA

medanism, and that these latter prevailed throughout Asia by reason of their oriental character. At any rate, they did prevail, and the fanaticism of these Turkish Moslems toward the Christians of Asia Minor and the Balkans added the cruelty of massacre to military conquest.

There can be no questioning the vigor of the Ottoman Turks. Always a small minority, swamped in alien blood, they imposed their Asiatic language, their adopted religion, and their will upon the mixed peoples of Asia Minor and the Balkans. They made little progress in civilization; they retained all their nomadic prowess as fighting men. Their conquests endured in striking contrast to the ephemeral triumphs of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. History has no explanation of such a single tenacious success among the many passing triumphs of the oriental nomads. Remembering the conquests of the Arabs in Spain, one can guess that Mohammedanism was a contributing factor. The quiescent faith of Buddhism prevailed among most of the other Asiatic peoples. But such explanations are mere guesses. The strength of a race of men is as impossible to account for as is the strength of a great individual.

4. THE BORDER PEOPLES

This rise of the East spent itself, so far as Europe was concerned, with the fourteenth century. Never again was Europe invaded by the Eastern races. But since Europe was a peninsula of Asia, there had been a frequent intermingling

of peoples across the artificial dividing line. Border peoples, of mixed Asiatic and European blood, are the rule in eastern Europe and western Asia. Broadly speaking, and with many exceptions, the transition from broad-headed Mongols to narrow-headed and broad-headed Europeans takes place gradually as one travels from East to West.

The minglings of prehistoric times have already been discussed. They are largely a matter of surmise. Man may have originated in Asia, probably did originate there; in which case all Europe is of Asiatic origin in this remote sense. At a much later date, in late Paleolithic time, the broad-headed Alpine man may have arrived from Asia; and again he may have come from Africa or been developed in Europe. In contrast with these guesses as to prehistoric origins are the certain minglings of historic times when the divergences between Asiatic races and European races were clear.

The six most important of these deposits of Asiatic peoples in Europe are the Huns, the Bulgars, the Magyars, the Finns, the Mongols, and the Turks. The Huns swept clear across Europe in the fifth century A. D., led at the height of their success by Attila. Defeated, they fell back to Russia, leaving but few scattered settlements in western Europe. Their language has not been preserved; from contemporary descriptions they seem to have been typical slant-eyed Mongolians, wild riders and great wanderers, forerunners of the hordes of Genghis Khan. But to what branch of the Mongolian race they belonged, and with what modern peoples of

Russia or the Balkans they may have fused, can only be guessed. The Bulgars came out of the East in the seventh century, a particularly forceful and cruel breed of nomad. By the ninth century they had abandoned their Asiatic tongue for a Slavic tongue and were fast becoming absorbed into the peaceful, farming Slavic people of modern times who bear their name. In the ninth century the Magyars or Hungarians overran the plains of the Danube and spread terror far and wide. (The ogre of the fairy-tales derives his name from "hungar," whom tradition pictured as drinking the blood of children.) They kept their Asiatic language and many of their sturdy racial characteristics, and thereby drove a wedge of Asiatics into the heart of Europe, dividing the western and southern Slavs from the northern and eastern. Racially speaking, the Magyars are the most western of Asiatics. Their kinship with the Turks to the south and the Finns to the north has been traced into Asia and is recorded in the three languages, all classed as belonging to the Ural-Altaic family, the name indicating their Asiatic origin. Finnish and Magyar are more closely related to each other than either to Turkish. The Finns came West in great numbers at an early date, spreading over most of Russia. They were neither horsemen nor conquerors, and in most regions they have been fused with other peoples. In Finland, where they fused with Scandinavians, they preserved both their language and many oriental characteristics, including the extremely broad heads of the Mongolian race. The arrival of

From F. R. Martin's "Miniature Painting."

AKBAR.

From a miniature of the school of Shah Jahan.

the Mongols in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the Turks in the eleventh and fourteenth centuries has already been described. The language of the Turks shows a clear relationship with the tongues of Magyar and Finn. Their blood is a strong element in Asia Minor and in the Balkans, including Greece.

To complete the picture, there are the infusions of north African blood in Sicily and southern Italy and of both Arab and north African in Spain. Ethnologists are now inclined to group the north African dark whites with the other Mediterranean peoples, so that this element is more European than African save as fused with negro blood. North Africa can perhaps best be considered a region of border peoples, standing between Africa and Europe precisely as the peoples in eastern Europe unite Asia and Europe.

5. INDIA

This chapter began with China and has travelled westward, following the major thrusts of Asiatic influence upon Europe. It will now be necessary to return to the Far East, record the history of another great Eastern power, India, and then pursue the course of Asiatic influence eastward across the Pacific to America.

The later story of India is one of almost continuous invasion by alien powers and of increasing disunity. Various waves of barbarian nomads from central Asia swept into India in the early centuries of the Christian era precisely as At-

tila rode across Europe. This was plainly a period of movement and unrest in Asia, but the history of that great region is still ill defined. The remains of Hellenic civilization in India were overwhelmed by these wild riders. Of them the White Huns or Ephthalites, who arrived in the sixth century, deserve separate mention for their incredible cruelty. The raids of these nomads destroyed and disorganized; they set up no lasting rule.

Seven centuries of conquest of a far different type, by Mohammedan peoples, from 1000 to 1750, followed. Thereafter came European subjection, which has continued down to the present. Turks, Afghans, and Tatars (from the heart of Asia) were the Islamites who succeeded one another in the rule of India. They were far more advanced in civilization than were the barbarian nomads who preceded them, and their sway had lasting effects. For one consequence it created many Mohammedan believers in India, who have continued faithful to Allah and form a strong minority in India to this day.

Among the adventurous rulers of the Tatar or Mogul* period, Akbar (1542–1605) ranks as a great and liberal monarch. This contemporary of Queen Elizabeth brought a magnificent age to India. He attempted many enlightened reforms, even opposing the sacred practice of suttee, the self-immolation of a Hindu widow upon the funeral pyre of her husband. But his effort to reconcile Hindu and Moham-

*"Mogul" is simply "Mongol" transferred into Arabic and back into English.

A SUTTEE TAKING PLACE BEFORE A PRINCE.

From an Indian miniature in a copy of the Mahabharata belonging to one of the great Mogul emperors of India. (*Circa* 1650.)

medan was a failure and India reverted to her old internal dissensions. Just as Asoka's rule had dissolved into chaos, so the reign of Akbar left little but a tradition of unity. India entered modern times an incoherent mass of petty states and antagonistic races, less able than even China to resist conquest, and possessing only faint traces of that strong sense of unity which underlay Chinese civilization.

Already the overseas adventurers from Europe were opening up the Far East to Western commerce. First came the Portuguese, then Dutch, Danes, Spaniards, French, and British. The final conquest of India by the British belongs in modern times. It was preceded in the eighteenth century by a disintegration of the Mogul Empire which foretold the end of its domination.

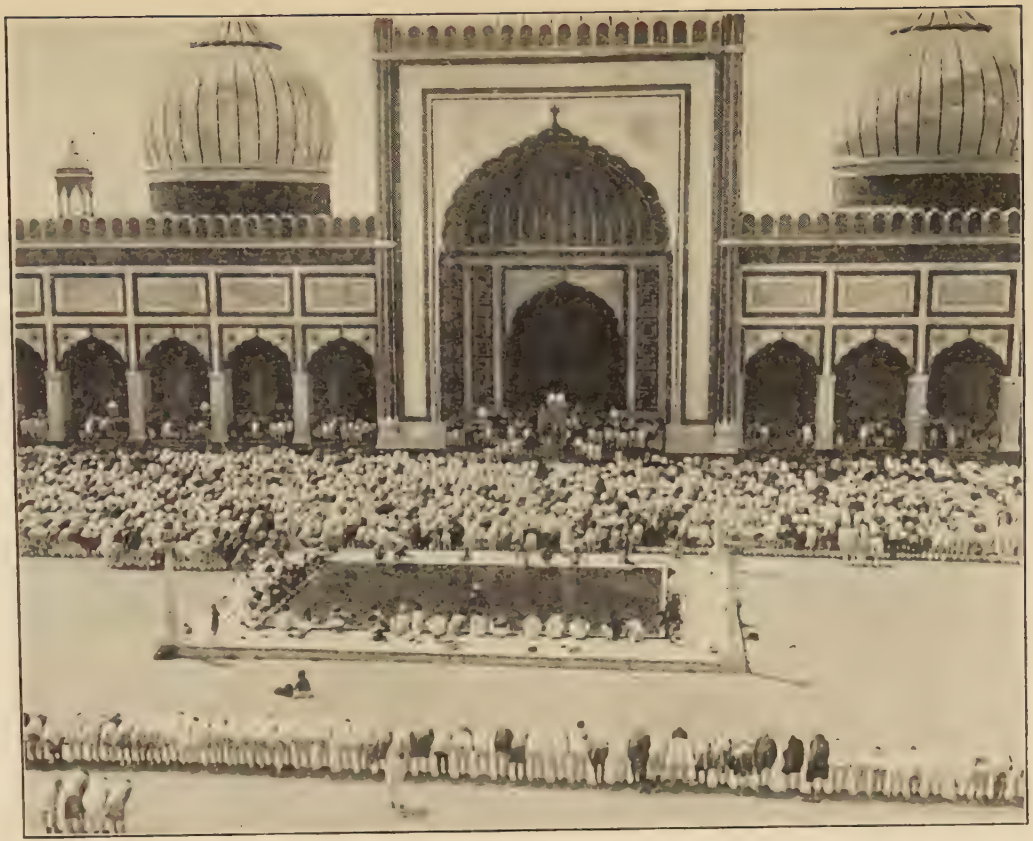
As in the case of China, the material for a thorough study of India remains to be gathered. A magnificent and often exquisite architecture, and religious devotees, masters of a contemplative faith of great philosophical power, are among the obvious signs of Indian greatness. The labor of historical analysis has scarcely begun and detailed understanding of Indian institutions is still in the future.

6. THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC

The Atlantic Ocean was a true abyss separating the Eastern and Western hemispheres throughout the formative ages of mankind. (One possible exception may be noted; early Europeans may conceivably have crossed to America upon a

land bridge binding Norway to Greenland in Tertiary time. But confirmation is lacking.) The Pacific Ocean offered, by contrast, a friendly, easy route from west to east, strewn with islands, and aided by favoring winds and currents setting straight toward the American coast. In historic times Chinese junks blown out to sea have frequently been carried across the Pacific to America. It is clear that prehistoric Asiatic man spread slowly across the Pacific, from island to island, and it is a likely hypothesis that he ultimately reached the South American coast. In addition, there was formerly a land bridge where now is Bering Strait, and there is strong evidence that the first Americans came from Asia by this route at a very early date. Therefore, good reason exists for regarding America (before 1492) as the real Orient of the world. In sailing westward to the Americas Columbus brought the high civilization of western Europe face to face with a backward branch of Asiatic peoples who had wandered across a great ocean and a great continent to the Orient's farthest east.

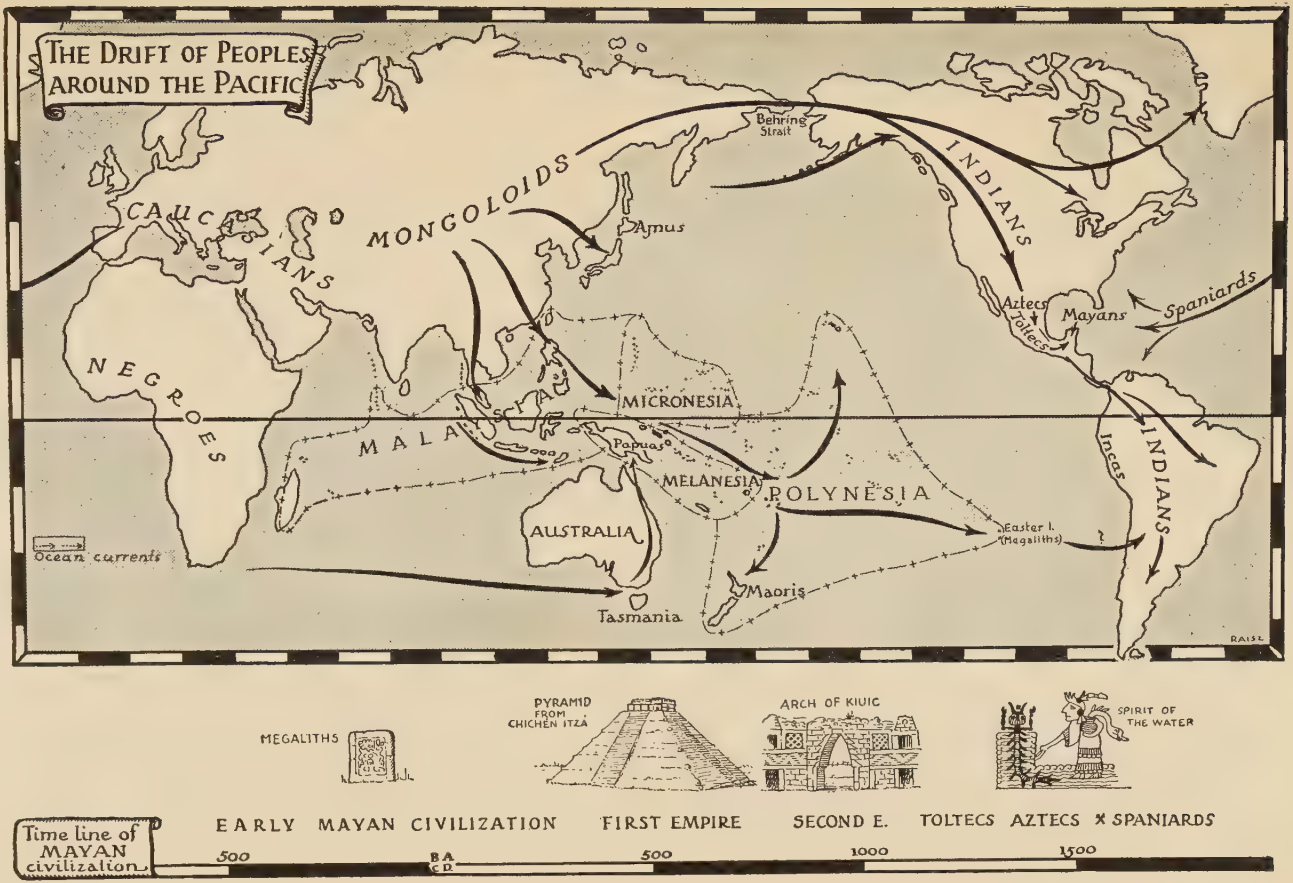
The gradual drift of Asiatic peoples eastward across the Pacific is still far from understood. Yet certain broad divisions of Oceanica have been outlined, as the newer nomenclature partly indicates. In the west, Malaysia or the East Indian archipelago runs from Sumatra to the Philippines. In the east, Polynesia includes such groups as the Samoan and Hawaiian Islands and all the sparse spots of land that form stepping-stones to South America. The small, widely scattered northern islands have been named Micronesia. The



From a photograph © Ewing Galloway.

THE MOHAMMEDAN MOSQUE OF JAMA MASHID, AT DELHI, INDIA

This is the largest mosque in India. The ordinary number of worshippers on a Friday morning, such as is depicted here, is 10,000.


THE DRIFT OF PEOPLES AROUND THE PACIFIC
Behring Strait
MONGOLOIDS
INDIANS
CAUCASIANS
Amus
Aztecs
Toltecs
Mayans
Spaniards
NEGROES
MICRONESIA
MALAYSIA
Papuas
MELANESIA
POLYNESIA
Incas
INDIANS
Ocean currents
AUSTRALIA
Easter I. (Megaliths)
Maoris
Tasmania
RAISZ
MEGALITHS
PYRAMID FROM CHICHEN ITZÁ
ARCH OF KIUIC
SPIRIT OF THE WATER
Time line of MAYAN civilization
EARLY MAYAN CIVILIZATION
FIRST EMPIRE
SECOND E.
TOLTECS AZTECS & SPANIARDS
500
B.A.
C.D.
500
1000
1500

larger islands to the south, including New Guinea or Papua, and extending eastward to the Fiji Islands, are called Melanesia, from the blackness of many of their inhabitants. Australasia, which is commonly used to include Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania, is a geographical and political unit without racial meaning.

The racial strains are greatly mixed in the Pacific islands and no clear account of their origins is possible. The natives of Australia present a great puzzle. Ranking among the most primitive of peoples, they show physical resemblances to both Negroid and Caucasian types. They have been frequently classed as a separate race of mankind. In Tasmania, to the south of Australia, the natives, now extinct, resembled the Papuans of New Guinea. Since Tasmania was once united with Australia, a possible explanation would bring these natives to Tasmania by this land route. In New Zealand, as might be expected from its situation, the native Maoris are Polynesian.

It seems probable that the black peoples, large and small, who spread over Africa in early times, also found their way along the land bridges of the Malay archipelago to the Philippines, New Guinea, and Australia—roughly, throughout Melanesia. The origin and the racial affinities of the two brown races of the Pacific are much more doubtful. They are the Malayan and the Polynesian. Formerly, anthropologists regarded the former as clearly Mongoloid, the latter as probably having Caucasian affinities. Later theories range

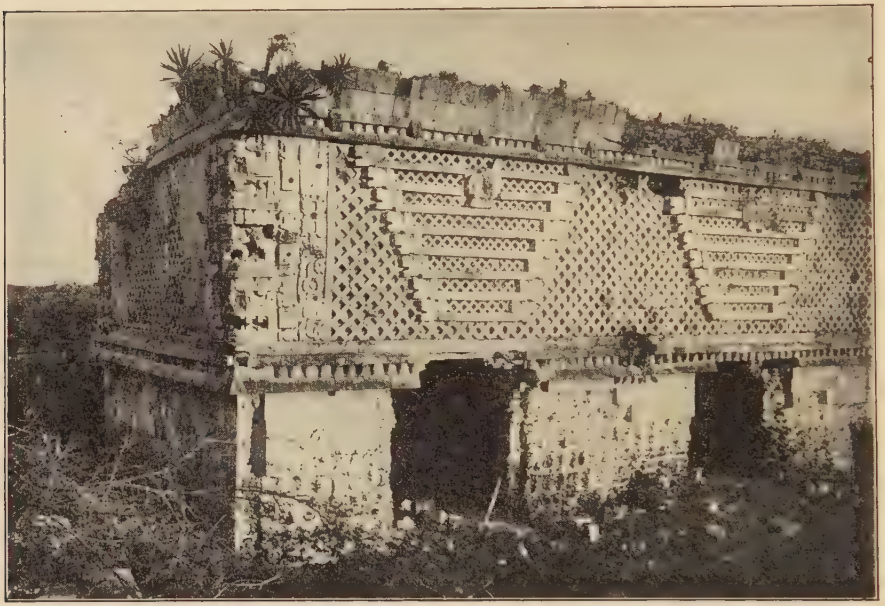
over a wide field, but tend to reduce the Mongolian element in the Malay and suggest the possibility of a remote common origin for Malay and Polynesian in southern Asia. The whole problem forms one more racial mystery which has thus far defied solution. It is fairly well established that the final drift of Polynesians to the eastern Pacific occurred in recent times, probably in the two millennia lying on either side of the birth of Christ.

The islands of Japan show, as might be expected, Mongolian types, closely related to those of China, with a large later admixture of Malayan blood. In addition, the hairy Ainus appear to be a surviving remnant of ancient Caucasian stock.

7. AMERICA

It must be clearly understood that the origin of the American Indian is highly speculative. For this reason some anthropologists have preferred to treat him as belonging to a separate race and the name Amerind has been coined to describe him. But the probabilities based on physical traits, especially his straight hair, and the absence of ancient skulls which would suggest an American origin, link the aboriginal Indian with the Mongolian stock of Asia, and his people may be hypothetically regarded as a branch of that race. If so, his ancestors came from Asia, probably by the land bridge across Bering Strait, at a far distant date, and the common stock in Asia was not any present Mongolian type but remote forebears.

Certainly the great variety of physical type of the American Indian suggests a long habitation in the widely various climates of the two continents. The types and tribes and languages are so numerous as to make classification exceedingly



Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

THE MAYAN TEMPLE KNOWN AS THE HOUSE OF THE NUNS, AT UXMAL, MEXICO.

difficult. The high cheek-bones and the hawk's nose are among the few constant characteristics. The color ranges from copper to black, the height and the heads from long to short. Nearly 200 families of languages are known, which include over 1,000 dialects. They are in general holophrastic. The level of the culture achieved when Europeans arrived upon the scene varied as widely. The North American Indian

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

PRIMITIVE AMERICAN METALWORK.

(*Upper left*) Gold amulets found in Costa Rica.
(*Right*) A gold idol.
(*Bottom*) A gold breastplate found in Colombia.

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

A TERRA-COTTA FIGURE OF AN AZTEC WARRIOR, DRESSED IN QUILTED ARMOR.

It was found near Lexacoco, Mexico.

was largely in the Old Stone Age, as his chipped arrow-heads testify. Yet in Peru, in Mexico, and in Central America, especially in the Yucatan peninsula, a civilization was achieved which is to be ranked with that of Egypt in many respects, though following it in point of time by several thousand years.

The true antiquity of these old American cultures is a recent discovery and much remains to be established. The work to be done in exploring the archæological remains of Central America is the most important of the present day. Enough has been found to awaken the theory that some fresh inspiration from Asia set this advance in motion. It is a convenient hypothesis that long after the original Mongoloids crossed Bering Strait and spread over the two continents, perhaps only 1,000 years B. C., a fresh impulse reached South America, canoe-loads of Polynesians carried eastward by wind and current. There may have been few of them and their knowledge of Asiatic civilizations may have been vague. But the thrust was given and all the highest civilizations of the Americas, from Peru to Yucatan, may be derived from these chance visitors. Here is only an hypothesis, however, and, along with the whole theory of Asiatic origin, it must be viewed with every caution. There are even experts who argue that the influence was in a reverse direction, that man originated in America and worked westward. The situation clearly calls for an open mind and a realization of the extremely tentative character of the most plausible theories.

The story of the Incas of Peru is familiar. Here the Spaniards of the sixteenth century found an extremely individual and vital civilization. If nothing remained but the marvellous stone-cutting of their buildings, the achievement would be memorable. In fact, they had an efficient government, a state worship, post-roads, and a rare skill in pottery and metals. Unfortunately they did not invent a writing—their only records were numerical, which they kept by means of knotted strings called "quipus." Their progress was cruelly ended by Pizarro.

This achievement has now been surpassed by the revelations in the recent discoveries in Central America. A tentative statement of these new facts may be attempted, though much revision may prove necessary. These greatest of aboriginal Americans, the Mayans, appear to have achieved a high civilization in the Yucatan peninsula and to the south in Guatemala and Honduras in the millennium preceding the Christian era. They wrote with hieroglyphs, they used a system of numerals—bars and dots—and they possessed an extraordinary amount of astronomical knowledge. The earliest recorded date in Mayan history has been placed at 613 B. C., on the basis of astronomical facts carved in stone. If these calculations are confirmed, some unknown Mayan scientist used arithmetical devices and measured certain astronomical phenomena before any one in the Old World. The outline of this great civilization is fairly clear. It reached its most brilliant period, the First Empire, from 400 to 600 A. D. Then

THE MAYAN PYRAMID AT SAN JUAN TEOTIHUACAN, MEXICO.

This was laid out by astronomical calculations similar to those used by the Egyptians in building the pyramids.

From a photograph by Publishers' Photo Service.

THE SERPENT STAIRS OF THE MAYAN PYRAMID AT SAN JUAN TEOTIHUACAN, MEXICO.

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

AZTEC MANUSCRIPTS.

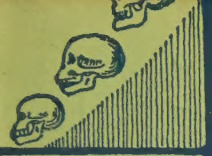
(*Above*) A page from the "Codex Borbonicus," a handbook for priests, showing two deities with various calendric symbols in the background.
(*Below*) A page from the "Codex Vaticanus," an encyclopædia of astrological and religious ceremonies, showing one deity on his throne.

it experienced a strange decay and great cities were abandoned to the forest for reasons as yet unknown. Yellow fever or civil war may have ruined the Mayans; or climatic changes may have forced them to higher ground. Their next success was their Second Empire, about 960 A. D. Thereafter the Toltecs from Mexico conquered them and the Mayan story ended. A secondary culture followed, extending from Mexico through Honduras to Costa Rica, derived from the glories of Yucatan. The Toltec civilization was high, as its beautiful pottery and its skilful work in gold, silver, copper, and various alloys indicates. To complete the Mexican picture, the Toltecs were followed by the Aztecs, who held much of the table-land of Mexico when the Spaniards arrived.

Repeated efforts have been made to connect the American civilization directly with Asia. One conspicuous fact of the Mayan architecture was its fondness for pyramids. In Peru there are megaliths. An English anthropologist, Elliot Smith, has attempted to unite these great stones in a "heliolithic" or "sun-stone" culture extending around the world, and would see a common cultural origin for Stonehenge in England and the megaliths of Peru. It was at one time thought that elephants were depicted in Mayan carving, but this view has been discarded. An impartial view at the present time would treat the unity of the megalithic culture as unproven and see in the culture of Central America many highly original features which suggest that the appearance of pyramids resembling Egyptian structures, for example,

was mere coincidence. All the resemblances between these early cultures may be regarded as the result of parallel forces operating under similar primitive conditions.

1. THE STREAM OF HISTORY
2. OUR FRAGMENT OF THE SUN
3. THE EVER CHANGING EARTH
4. THE MYSTERY OF LIFE
5. FROM AMOEBA TO MAN
CANADA
UNITED STATES
HAWAII
PACIFIC OCEAN
VENEZUELA
BRAZIL
PERU
CHILE
ARGENTINA
NEW ZEALAND
6. CIVILIZATION
7. THE COMING



6. THE COMING OF MAN

7 HUNTERS OF THE OLD STONE AGE

8. HERDSMAN OF THE NEW STONE AGE

9. WHAT PRIMITIVE MAN THOUGHT

10. DAWN OF CIVILIZATION

6. THE DARK AGES OF EUROPE

17. THE MIDDLE AGES

18. THE RISE OF THE EAST

19. THE RENAISSANCE

20. AGE OF SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY